

THE

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER,

UNDER THE SANCTION OF

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Vol. 13. No. 11.—New Series.] NOVEMBER 1, 1865.

{Price Fourpence Stamped
{ Threepence Unstamped

CONTENTS.

Monthly Summary	257	National Committee of British Freed-	
Correspondence	260	men's-Aid Associations	274
President Johnson on the Crisis	261	American Public Men on Reconstruction	
The Black Code of Georgia	264	and Negro Suffrage	276
Friend or Foe	268	The Freedmen's Column	278
Immigration again	270	Review— <i>The Negro Suffrage</i> , by Professor	
Anti-Slavery Progress in Spain	272	Cairnes.....	280
A Freedman to his Old Master	274	Advertisement	280

Monthly Summary.

DOMESTIC.—In our last Number we gave, in our summary of news, an item under the head of Hayti, to the effect that President Jeffrard had been compelled to abandon the seat of Government, and to succumb to the revolutionary party. The information came *via* Havana, which we stated. It turns out to have been incorrect, and we have been requested to contradict the rumour. We may add, that M. Granville, Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim* here, for Hayti, set the question at rest, in a communication to the daily papers; but it did not appear until after the issue of our own periodical.

At the recent Social Science Congress, Lord Brougham made the following remarks in the course of his inaugural speech:

"The termination of war in America must give all our friends and supporters the greatest satisfaction. It was never regarded by us as any thing but a grievous calamity, and we hoped that out of evil good might come to the slave, although it was clear that the emancipation by the North had only been a measure of hostility; and the support of Slavery—that utterly execrable institution—by the South, only a partial cause of the secession. But the condition in which the war has left the country, especially the South, is painful to contemplate, as the difficulties of the Government are great and numerous. There seems, however, reason to believe that the President has resolved upon temperate measures towards the defeated Confederates, and all must admire the courage and the skill by which the victory has been gained, while both parties have alike distinguished themselves in the war; the South having to extol Lee, while Sherman, on the side of the North, is

justly admired. The great difficulty arising from the slaves would have been much lessened, if not wholly avoided, had the measure of emancipation been gradual, like ours. They might then have had to shew their coloured people engaged in free-labour, as we have had no less than 100,000 so employed in our colonies."

On Wednesday, the 18th ultimo, Viscount Palmerston, Prime Minister, expired at Brockett Hall, Herts, within two days of completing his 81st year. His death is recorded in our columns on account of his hostility to the African slave-trade, of which, from the day he assumed office, he became the steady opponent. He may have erred in judgment as to the most effectual means for the suppression of that iniquity, but no doubt of his sincerity of purpose can be entertained.

Two vessels have recently arrived in the Mersey, direct from New Orleans. Their names—significant of the state of things at present in the United States—are *The Freedom* and *The Glad Tidings*, and both are laden with free-labour cotton. *The Freedom* brings about 1700 bales, and *The Glad Tidings* 2400 bales of cotton, these being two of the largest cargoes of cotton which have arrived in the Mersey since the commencement or the termination of the war, from New Orleans. The last-named vessel is consigned to the well-known firm of Rathbone Brothers, of Liverpool. This ship made the run to long. 18 W. from New Orleans in thirty-two days, and was nine days beating about between Skellig Island and the Dastnel Rock, owing to a prevalence of heavy easterly gales, and the same cause also prevented the progress of *The Freedom* after she reached the chops of the Channel.

The *Manchester Examiner and Times* states, that from letters received from the United States, it is probable William Lloyd Garrison will visit England the coming spring, accompanied by George Thompson.

Elihu Burritt has been appointed to the lucrative office of United States' Consular Agent at Birmingham. We heartily congratulate our friend upon his nomination.

The daily press has published a long correspondence between the Hon. C. F. Adams and Earl Russell, on the subject of the claims of United-States' citizens for compensation arising out of the piratical proceedings of the *Alabama*. Earl Russell declines to submit the whole question to arbitration, as proposed by the American Minister, but offers to lay before a Commission all claims which the respective Governments may elect to refer to that tribunal. Here the question rests for the present.

King Pepple, of Bonny, who visited England some few years ago, has just sent his daughter over to be educated here. She is said to be quite black, with pleasing countenance, and features bearing but slight resemblance to those of the natives of Bonny and other parts of West Africa.

FRANCE.—On the 3rd current, a public meeting in aid of the Freedmen of the United States is to be held in Paris, Mons. Laboulaye in the chair. The chief speakers will be the Hon. C. C. Leigh, Mons. Cochin, and the Rev. Dr. Sutherland, Minister of the American Church. Permission to hold this meeting has been obtained from the Prefect of Police.

SPAIN.—The public meeting of the Madrid Abolitionist Society, which it was expected would be held at the close of last month, had been postponed on account of the cholera having driven away a large proportion of the population of Madrid, and prevented many of the leading men—absent for the summer vacation—from returning. Preparations are, however, being made to convene the meeting at the earliest opportunity.

HAYTI.—The latest information from this island is to the effect that the President was succeeding in his measures for suppressing the recent attempt at insurrection.

UNITED STATES.—The Alabama State Convention, which—as stated in our last Summary—assembled on the 12th September, adjourned after adopting the new constitution. It also passed an ordinance excluding negro testimony in all civil cases, until the next Legislature makes an organic law on the subject, and memorializing the Government for a general amnesty and the withdrawal of the troops from the State. The Convention refused to submit the State

Constitution for amendment to the people for ratification. The ordinance in relation to Slavery is as follows, and was adopted by a vote of 39 against 13:

"Be it ordained by the people of the State of Alabama in convention assembled, That as the institution of Slavery has been destroyed in the State of Alabama, hereafter there shall be neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude in this State, otherwise than for the punishment of crime, whereof the party shall be duly convicted.

"And be it further ordained, That the Constitution be amended by striking out all provisions in relation to Slaves and Slavery.

"And be it further ordained, That it shall be the duty of the Legislature, at its next session, to pass such laws as will protect the freedmen of this State in the full enjoyment of all their rights of person and property, and guard them and the State against all evil that may arise from their sudden emancipation."

Complete returns from Colorado indicate the adoption of the State Constitution by a very large majority. The clause authorising negro suffrage was defeated.

The North-Carolina Reconstruction Convention assembled on the 2nd October. It unanimously passed an ordinance declaring that the ordinance of 1779, ratifying the Constitution, had always been in force since its enactment, and that the supposed secession ordinance had always been null and void, and is now repealed. It also prohibits Slavery for ever, and involuntary servitude, except for crime, and has also provided for the election, on the 9th of November, of State officers and seven members of Congress.

At the South-Carolina State Convention, which assembled on the 13th of September, and again on the 22nd, after adopting certain changes in the Constitution relative to State and local elections, the delegates repealed the secession ordinance by a vote of 105 against 3. Resolutions were introduced endorsing President Johnson, declaring Slavery to be perpetually abolished in the State, granting negroes the right to testify in court, and earnestly pleading for the immediate pardon of Jefferson Davis, Alexander H. Stephens, Governor Magrath, and ex-Secretary Trenholm. A committee was appointed to proceed to Washington to secure these pardons. The following clause was adopted by a vote of 98 to 8:

"Slaves in South Carolina having been *de facto* emancipated by the United States, neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall be re-established in this State."

A vote having been taken on the proposition to make the basis of representation of the State rest upon the whole population, irrespective of colour, it was rejected by a large majority, leaving the clause making the white population alone the basis of representation.

The Mississippi Convention had named October 2nd for the election of Congress men and State officers. It had also ratified the ordinances passed by the Secession Convention, which were not repugnant to the Federal Constitution, and, by a vote of 86 against 11, has adopted an amendment to the State Constitution, prohibiting Slavery or involuntary servitude in the State, except in punishment of crime, and directing the Legislature at its next session to provide laws for the protection of the persons and property of the freedmen.

At the recent election in Connecticut, the proposed amendment to the State Constitution, granting the right of franchise to negroes, was defeated by a majority of over 6000. Every county in the State except one voted against the amendment.

The Kentucky elections have resulted in the election to Congress of five candidates opposed to, and four in favour of, the Constitutional Amendment to abolish Slavery.

Both Republican and Democratic Conventions for the nomination of State officers have been recently held in Maine, Minnesota, and Pennsylvania. Upon each occasion resolutions were adopted approving President Johnson's plan of restoration, and advocating the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine.

The State Department has requested all persons who have suffered losses by the rebels or their cruisers, or by raids, to send in claims to the department, which will be presented to the British Government for settlement.

The Confederate Vice-President Stephens, Messrs. J. A. Campbell, Leagan, and others have been pardoned, and their liberty on parole enlarged.

Judge Bird, of Alabama, having recently visited Washington, writes to the *Mobile News*, telling the people what the President expects of the reconstructing States, namely, 1st, To declare the African race free by the organic law of each State. 2nd, That each State will secure and guarantee by her Constitution civil rights to the freedmen; political rights, such as suffrages, sittings on juries, &c., are not expected to be conferred on them at this time: these are matters to be left to the discretion of the several States. But the freedom of the African race and the guarantee of their civil rights are requisite to the reconstruction of State Governments, and their re-admission to the Union.

In a recent speech at Chillicothe, Ohio, General Schenck, in speaking of reconstruction in the South and the difficulties attending it, said that he had recently had a conference with President Johnson, in which the latter stated that he regarded the local civil governments established in the rebellious States merely as experiments to give the people an opportunity to shew whether they are possessed of a truly loyal spirit, and are disposed to act in good faith towards the national Government. In the mean time he intended to keep sufficient military force in their midst to bring them to their senses if they manifest in their conduct a predominance of the old secession, pro-slavery, and rebellious leaven.

Major-General Howard had returned from his inspecting tour through Virginia, after an absence of ten days. He reports favourable progress in the improvement of the condition of the freedmen, and the settlement of the labour question between employer and employed. One of the results of General Howard's tour had been to establish a system for the adjudication of all minor questions concerning the freedmen, such as labour-disputes, contracts, minor offences, &c. A commission of three persons in each district, one appointed by the freedmen and one by the planters, to act with an agent of the Freedmen's Bureau, will carry into effect this new system. All important matters will be referred to higher tribunals, either civil or military. It was General Howard's intention to start on a more extended tour, to embrace the entire South.

Colonel S. A. Thomas, assistant commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau of Mississippi, states in his report, that no property has been libelled for confiscation in Mississippi, and that the Bureau has made no attempt to distribute land in small lots to the freedmen. Citizens having been pardoned were returning to the State and claiming their property, and any attempt to distribute confiscated lands among the negroes could only be successful through strong military assistance, as even loyal men were opposed to such distribution, as were also the national military forces. The Mississippi Bureau was supporting only about 4500 negroes, and was issuing rations to some 2500 white persons. The report states that the organization of the State militia, under the recent order of Governor Sharkey, approved by the President, was creating a great panic among the freedmen. Colonel Thomas says that he believes the negroes will make armed opposition to the execution of the militia enrolment, they being highly excited and partially armed. He also predicts trouble between the white and negro populations

in case the Federal troops are withdrawn. The planters were, however, getting along very quietly with their former slaves, who were working in great numbers for them under contract. The Governor of Mississippi, acceding to the proposal of Colonel Thomas, had decided that cases of freedmen shall be adjudicated by the civil courts according to the State laws, except in so far as they would make a distinction on account of colour. Negroes will be protected in person and property, and have the right to sue and be sued, and to give evidence.

An official letter, recently received from an officer of the Freedmen's Bureau at Sheridan, Miss., states, that of 22,770 destitute people subsisted by the Government, but 770 are negroes.

Fourteen hundred coloured families have made application to the military authorities at Fort Monroe to purchase land in Virginia, for the purpose of dwelling thereon and cultivating the same. They wish to purchase from or through the agency of the United-States' Government, feeling assured that by such a course their rights and titles will be respected. They will pay cash.

The planters on the eastern shores of Maryland are reported to be sending to the Freedmen's Bureau at Washington for free negro labourers.

A great mass meeting of freedmen was held at Edgefield, Tennessee, on the 5th ultimo. Among the speakers was General Fisk, of the Freedmen's Bureau, who congratulated the negroes upon their freedom, and exhorted them to adopt industry, sobriety, and integrity. He hoped the black man would be put in the jury-box and on the witness-stand. He announced that within a week he had sent some 700 negroes to different parts of the State to work for wages with their former owners.

Fanny Jackson, a young coloured woman of Washington, D. C., had graduated from the classical course of Oberlin College at the late Commencement. She is the first female graduate of African descent.

Three weeks ago the first negro student was admitted into the Freshman class of Howard College at Newhaven. He comes from Boston. On September 18th the first black jurymen ever admitted into the jury-box in America was called and qualified in a court of Brooklyn, New York, and he sat all day in the trial of a cause without any objection being made.

WEST INDIES.—Our West-India files are barren of news.

Correspondence.

(To the Editor of the "*Anti-Slavery Reporter*.")

THE EFFORTS IN AMERICA TO ABOLISH SLAVERY ANTECEDENT TO THE WAR.

SIR,—The war in America is over; its haze and smoke are clearing away. Historians, keenly peering into the results, are tracing them to their causes, near and remote, and recording them for future ages.

From the period when the anti-slavery agitation commenced in America to the emancipation proclamation of President Lincoln, every thing contributed to the overthrow of Slavery. Whether slaveholders resisted the movement, were passive, or took sides with it—whether the Union remained intact or was rent asunder—whether peace extended her olive wand over the land, or the brazen trumpet kindled war—the anti-slavery cause mightily grew and prevailed. One great moral law shaped the ends of all agents and controlled all policies, inevitably securing one result—the abolition of Slavery.

In entering on their work the abolitionists proposed to change the public sentiment by their influence—social, commercial, political, and religious, and by means of the press, the pulpit, and the platform, they resolved to obtain from the Federal and States Governments the same protection for the coloured people that they enjoyed themselves. They determined to pursue peace measures only. No war was anticipated, except the possible uprising of the slaves, and this they were pledged from the first never to countenance. Among the encouragements in their work, not the least were the success of English efforts for the abolition of the slave-trade, Slavery in the West Indies, and the corn-laws. Early in the movement John C. Calhoun, the recognised leader of the slaveholders, requested, from the Secretary of the *American Anti-Slavery Society*, full information of all their proceedings. This was cheerfully furnished.

The people in the Free States knew but little of the cruelties of the slave system, and still less of its despotism, centralized at Washington, and extending its ramifications to every hamlet, north and south.

The slaveholders foresaw that if the rights of the Abolitionists were held sacred, the public mind would be enlightened, a large political anti-slavery party would be formed, and Slavery be peacefully and legally abolished. Two courses were before them. One was, to carry the question to the arena of public discussion, and meet argument with argument, tract with tract, press with press, and lecturer with lecturer, and trust the people for the results; the other was, to strike at all the rights which the Abolitionists were exercising to change public opinion. As to the first, they were conscious that their cause could never be sustained by argument. They must resort to violence, or consent to abolition. But there were difficulties in such a resort. It would be impossible to strike down the rights of the Abolitionists without striking down by the same blow the rights of all members of the com-

monwealth. This they resolved to do: it was their last hope.

The Abolitionists forwarded petitions to Congress for the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia and in the Territories. The slaveholders denied their right to petition, and obtained the adoption of a rule, that all petitions referring in the most remote way to the Slavery question should be laid aside, without being read or referred to.

There were many, however, who would not favour the abolition of Slavery, but were determined that the right to petition should be maintained, let come what would. They soon increased to 300,000. John Quincy Adams, though not an advocate of emancipation, came forward as the advocate of the right of petition. His great talents were exercised in the Senate in battling against the slaveholders; and thus he became the real, though not the recognised, leader of the anti-slavery party.

The Abolitionists established in each Free State an anti-slavery press. The slaveholders denied their right to do so; and advised their destruction by mob violence. The anti-slavery editor in Boston, W. Lloyd Garrison, was dragged through the streets by the mob, and thrust into prison. The press in Cincinnati, edited by J. G. Birney, who had set his slaves free, was thrown into the Ohio river. Two or three presses in succession were destroyed by the mob at Alton, and the anti-slavery editor, the Rev. Mr. Lovejoy, was slain by them. This opened the eyes of the people. They said persons are not obliged to purchase newspapers, and if they are not bought they will not be published; but we will have a free press; and in all the Free States this right was secured, numbers uniting with the Abolitionists to obtain it.

The Abolitionists sent their newspapers to various parties through the post-office. The slaveholders denied their right to do so. Then came the searching of mail-bags, and the opening of letters, however confidential, to prevent the spread of anti-slavery sentiments. But many who were not moved by the sufferings of the slave, were greatly moved by such an outrage, and they successfully applied themselves to the work of having their letters transmitted through the post-office without confidence being violated.

It was favourable to the anti-slavery cause that the laws of the Free States and public opinion afforded protection to refugee slaves, and thousands of them were living in security. The slaveholders denied the right of the Free States to afford this protection, and secured the enactment of the infamous fugitive slave law. A person told me in Kentucky it raised the price of slaves twenty-five per cent. But in the Free States the people met in congregated thousands to denounce it. The Abolitionists, who had made the Slavery question the study of their lives, were called upon to address these vast assemblies, and the hearers were led to aid in promoting the anti-slavery cause.

The Abolitionists were determined that Slavery should not be extended to the Territories. The slaveholders claimed it as a right to carry their slaves thither. The people were appealed to,

and many men of learning and influence, who had stood aloof from the anti-slavery movement, united with it to keep the curse of Slavery from the Territories. A President was elected to carry out their determination.

The slaveholders saw, that notwithstanding all their violence the anti-slavery spirit, so far as the Territories were concerned, had reached the Federal Government. Hoping to isolate themselves from the anti-slavery power, they aimed to destroy the Federal Union. Vain hope! Their city of refuge was a city of destruction. In fighting against anti-slavery truth they were fighting against God. Several Slave States seceded from the Union, not anticipating that there were millions who were resolved, that whatever might be the results to Slavery, the Union should be maintained and perpetuated. Secession produced war, and the gigantic slave power went down in blood.

Thus, as I observed at the commencement, one great moral law shaped the ends of all agents, and controlled the tendencies of all policies, inevitably securing one result.

"Jehovah hath triumphed, His people are free."

Yours very truly,

EDWARD MATTHEWS.

Bristol, Oct. 23, 1865.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON ON THE CRISIS.

ON the 10th of October last, the 1st regiment of coloured Volunteers, from the District of Columbia, being about to disband, marched from its quarters and presented itself for review by the President. This body of men had fought through the last and fiercest fights of the war, gaining great distinction for valour in the field, and bringing back its flag, riddled by ball and bullet. In war parlance, it had "covered itself with glory." The President took advantage of the occasion, to deliver his sentiments upon the duties of American citizens in general, and of coloured American citizens in particular. His address reads very much like a homily—and one of an exceedingly homely kind—upon freedom, and liberty, and labour, strongly seasoned with exhortations to the listeners, to go home and work, and be thankful, and wait for the "good time coming," when they might expect to be invested with the full rights of citizenship. If the President's address has been accurately reported, we confess to having read it with feelings of great disappointment. It indicates throughout an unsettled purpose, for it abounds in platitudes, and is involved to a singular degree. It is so thoroughly unlike his usual direct, pointed speeches, that one cannot fail to feel he was conscious of a purpose to speak evasively on the only point likely to interest his auditory. First, he was not going to do more than thank them for the compliment they paid him of

in case the Federal troops are withdrawn. The planters were, however, getting along very quietly with their former slaves, who were working in great numbers for them under contract. The Governor of Mississippi, acceding to the proposal of Colonel Thomas, had decided that cases of freedmen shall be adjudicated by the civil courts according to the State laws, except in so far as they would make a distinction on account of colour. Negroes will be protected in person and property, and have the right to sue and be sued, and to give evidence.

An official letter, recently received from an officer of the Freedmen's Bureau at Sheridan, Miss., states, that of 22,770 destitute people subsisted by the Government, but 770 are negroes.

Fourteen hundred coloured families have made application to the military authorities at Fort Monroe to purchase land in Virginia, for the purpose of dwelling thereon and cultivating the same. They wish to purchase from or through the agency of the United-States' Government, feeling assured that by such a course their rights and titles will be respected. They will pay cash.

The planters on the eastern shores of Maryland are reported to be sending to the Freedmen's Bureau at Washington for free negro labourers.

A great mass meeting of freedmen was held at Edgefield, Tennessee, on the 5th ultimo. Among the speakers was General Fisk, of the Freedmen's Bureau, who congratulated the negroes upon their freedom, and exhorted them to adopt industry, sobriety, and integrity. He hoped the black man would be put in the jury-box and on the witness-stand. He announced that within a week he had sent some 700 negroes to different parts of the State to work for wages with their former owners.

Fanny Jackson, a young coloured woman of Washington, D. C., had graduated from the classical course of Oberlin College at the late Commencement. She is the first female graduate of African descent.

Three weeks ago the first negro student was admitted into the Freshman class of Howard College at Newhaven. He comes from Boston. On September 18th the first black juryman ever admitted into the jury-box in America was called and qualified in a court of Brooklyn, New York, and he sat all day in the trial of a cause without any objection being made.

WEST INDIES.—Our West-India files are barren of news.

Correspondence.

(To the Editor of the "Anti-Slavery Reporter.")

THE EFFORTS IN AMERICA TO ABOLISH SLAVERY ANTECEDENT TO THE WAR.

SIR,—The war in America is over; its haze and smoke are clearing away. Historians, keenly peering into the results, are tracing them to their causes, near and remote, and recording them for future ages.

From the period when the anti-slavery agitation commenced in America to the emancipation proclamation of President Lincoln, every thing contributed to the overthrow of Slavery. Whether slaveholders resisted the movement, were passive, or took sides with it—whether the Union remained intact or was rent asunder—whether peace extended her olive wand over the land, or the brazen trumpet kindled war—the anti-slavery cause mightily grew and prevailed. One great moral law shaped the ends of all agents and controlled all policies, inevitably securing one result—the abolition of Slavery.

In entering on their work the abolitionists proposed to change the public sentiment by their influence—social, commercial, political, and religious, and by means of the press, the pulpit, and the platform, they resolved to obtain from the Federal and States Governments the same protection for the coloured people that they enjoyed themselves. They determined to pursue peace measures only. No war was anticipated, except the possible uprising of the slaves, and this they were pledged from the first never to countenance. Among the encouragements in their work, not the least were the success of English efforts for the abolition of the slave-trade, Slavery in the West Indies, and the corn-laws. Early in the movement John C. Calhoun, the recognised leader of the slaveholders, requested, from the Secretary of the *American Anti-Slavery Society*, full information of all their proceedings. This was cheerfully furnished.

The people in the Free States knew but little of the cruelties of the slave system, and still less of its despotism, centralized at Washington, and extending its ramifications to every hamlet, north and south.

The slaveholders foresaw that if the rights of the Abolitionists were held sacred, the public mind would be enlightened, a large political anti-slavery party would be formed, and Slavery be peacefully and legally abolished. Two courses were before them. One was, to carry the question to the arena of public discussion, and meet argument with argument, tract with tract, press with press, and lecturer with lecturer, and trust the people for the results; the other was, to strike at all the rights which the Abolitionists were exercising to change public opinion. As to the first, they were conscious that their cause could never be sustained by argument. They must resort to violence, or consent to abolition. But there were difficulties in such a resort. It would be impossible to strike down the rights of the Abolitionists without striking down by the same blow the rights of all members of the com-

monwealth. This they resolved to do: it was their last hope.

The Abolitionists forwarded petitions to Congress for the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia and in the Territories. The slaveholders denied their right to petition, and obtained the adoption of a rule, that all petitions referring in the most remote way to the Slavery question should be laid aside, without being read or referred to.

There were many, however, who would not favour the abolition of Slavery, but were determined that the right to petition should be maintained, let come what would. They soon increased to 300,000. John Quincy Adams, though not an advocate of emancipation, came forward as the advocate of the right of petition. His great talents were exercised in the Senate in battling against the slaveholders; and thus he became the real, though not the recognised, leader of the anti-slavery party.

The Abolitionists established in each Free State an anti-slavery press. The slaveholders denied their right to do so; and advised their destruction by mob violence. The anti-slavery editor in Boston, W. Lloyd Garrison, was dragged through the streets by the mob, and thrust into prison. The press in Cincinnati, edited by J. G. Birney, who had set his slaves free, was thrown into the Ohio river. Two or three presses in succession were destroyed by the mob at Alton, and the anti-slavery editor, the Rev. Mr. Lovejoy, was slain by them. This opened the eyes of the people. They said persons are not obliged to purchase newspapers, and if they are not bought they will not be published; but we will have a free press; and in all the Free States this right was secured, numbers uniting with the Abolitionists to obtain it.

The Abolitionists sent their newspapers to various parties through the post-office. The slaveholders denied their right to do so. Then came the searching of mail-bags, and the opening of letters, however confidential, to prevent the spread of anti-slavery sentiments. But many who were not moved by the sufferings of the slave, were greatly moved by such an outrage, and they successfully applied themselves to the work of having their letters transmitted through the post-office without confidence being violated.

It was favourable to the anti-slavery cause that the laws of the Free States and public opinion afforded protection to refugee slaves, and thousands of them were living in security. The slaveholders denied the right of the Free States to afford this protection, and secured the enactment of the infamous fugitive slave law. A person told me in Kentucky it raised the price of slaves twenty-five per cent. But in the Free States the people met in congregated thousands to denounce it. The Abolitionists, who had made the Slavery question the study of their lives, were called upon to address these vast assemblies, and the hearers were led to aid in promoting the anti-slavery cause.

The Abolitionists were determined that Slavery should not be extended to the Territories. The slaveholders claimed it as a right to carry their slaves thither. The people were appealed to,

and many men of learning and influence, who had stood aloof from the anti-slavery movement, united with it to keep the curse of Slavery from the Territories. A President was elected to carry out their determination.

The slaveholders saw, that notwithstanding all their violence the anti-slavery spirit, so far as the Territories were concerned, had reached the Federal Government. Hoping to isolate themselves from the anti-slavery power, they aimed to destroy the Federal Union. Vain hope! Their city of refuge was a city of destruction. In fighting against anti-slavery truth they were fighting against God. Several Slave States seceded from the Union, not anticipating that there were millions who were resolved, that whatever might be the results to Slavery, the Union should be maintained and perpetuated. Secession produced war, and the gigantic slave power went down in blood.

Thus, as I observed at the commencement, one great moral law shaped the ends of all agents, and controlled the tendencies of all policies, inevitably securing one result.

"Jehovah hath triumphed, His people are free."

Yours very truly,

EDWARD MATTHEWS.

Bristol, Oct. 23, 1865.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON ON THE CRISIS.

On the 10th of October last, the 1st regiment of coloured Volunteers, from the District of Columbia, being about to disband, marched from its quarters and presented itself for review by the President. This body of men had fought through the last and fiercest fights of the war, gaining great distinction for valour in the field, and bringing back its flag, riddled by ball and bullet. In war parlance, it had "covered itself with glory." The President took advantage of the occasion, to deliver his sentiments upon the duties of American citizens in general, and of coloured American citizens in particular. His address reads very much like a homily—and one of an exceedingly homely kind—upon freedom, and liberty, and labour, strongly seasoned with exhortations to the listeners, to go home and work, and be thankful, and wait for the "good time coming," when they might expect to be invested with the full rights of citizenship. If the President's address has been accurately reported, we confess to having read it with feelings of great disappointment. It indicates throughout an unsettled purpose, for it abounds in platitudes, and is involved to a singular degree. It is so thoroughly unlike his usual direct, pointed speeches, that one cannot fail to feel he was conscious of a purpose to speak evasively on the only point likely to interest his auditory. First, he was not going to do more than thank them for the compliment they paid him of

coming to be reviewed. But the temptation to go a little further suggested itself, and he proceeds to acknowledge the services they had rendered their country, by fighting against its enemies. He tells them what they knew, namely, that Slavery had gone down for ever, then asks them something they cannot answer, and which he is careful not to attempt to enlighten them upon. He informs them that the rebellion engendered by Slavery is suppressed, then inquires whether "four millions of people, raised as they," the late slaves, "have been, can," taking into account all the prejudices of the whites, assume "their place in the community, and be made to work harmoniously and congruously in our system." One would think the safest mode of solving this "problem" would be to deny to none any of the rights of citizenship, on account of colour, and allow the experiment to work itself out. The way to prevent harmony and congruity is just what the President appears to be doing, for in withholding from the coloured classes the first privileges of citizenship, an incongruous and discordant element is introduced into "our system" which cannot possibly produce any thing but future trouble. The attempt to incorporate the new element into the American body politic, the President intimates will be made in good faith, but he does not comply with the first condition of "good faith," which is to place the people hitherto excluded from all rights and privileges, in a position to demonstrate that they are competent to take their just share in the government of the country. We think it was Oliver Cromwell who, although a master of direct speech, could be as involved as a labyrinth when it suited the purpose of the moment; and this address of President Johnson's strikes us as equal in devious wordiness to any of the Protector's studied foggy effusions. What is the meaning of the following sentence, to wit:

"Inculcate among your children, and among your associates, notwithstanding you are just back from the army of the United States, that virtue, that merit, that intellect are the standards to be observed, and those which you are determined to maintain during your future lives. This is the way to make white men black and black men white."

Did the President intend to convey the idea that virtue, merit, and intellect are not the standards observed in the army of the United States? If not, wherefore the "notwithstanding?" Again, if the cultivation of the higher standard is the way to make white men black and black men white, does not the President place the latter on a more elevated pinnacle, and then reverse the order of things, in

either case successively to the disparagement of each class? We confess we fail to perceive the force or the reason of these remarks.

We should have allowed this address of the President's to pass *sub silentio*, had we not felt it to be our duty to present it, as embodying what must be regarded as his latest utterances upon the question of the civil rights of the freedmen. We desire to believe he intends to do what is right, but, if so, it were best to begin right, and we should have been glad had he spoken out, in his more natural, direct manner, and at once, in favour of justice to the coloured people. We leave our readers to judge for themselves of the President's statements.

THE ADDRESS.

"My Friends,—My object in presenting myself before you on this occasion is simply to thank you, as members of one of the coloured regiments which have been in the service of the country to sustain and carry its banner and its laws triumphantly in every part of this broad land. I repeat, I appear before you on the present occasion merely to tender you my thanks for the compliment you have paid me on your return home to again be associated with your friends and relations and those you hold most sacred and dear. I repeat, I have but little to say. It is unusual in this Government, and in most other Governments, to have coloured troops engaged in their service. You have gone forth, as events have shewn, and served with patience and endurance in the cause of your country. This is your country as well as anybody else's country. This is the country in which you expect to live, and in which you should expect to do something by your example in civil life as you have done in the field. This country is founded upon the principles of equality, and at the same time the standard by which persons are to be estimated is according to their merit and their worth, and you have observed, no doubt, that for him who does his duty faithfully and honestly there is always a just public judgment that will appreciate and measure out to him his proper reward. I know there is much well calculated in this Government, and since the late rebellion commenced, to excite the white against the black, and the black against the white man. These are things you should all understand, and at the same time prepare yourselves for what is before you. Upon the return of peace, and the surrender of the enemies of the country, it should be the duty of every patriot, and every one who calls himself a Christian, to remember, that with the termination of the war his resentment should cease, that angry feelings should subside, and that every man should become calm and tranquil, and be prepared for what is before him. This is another part of your mission. You have been engaged in the effort to sustain your country in the past, but the future is more important to you than the period in which you have just been engaged. One great question has been settled

in this Government, and that is the question of Slavery. The institution of Slavery made war against the United States, and the United States has lifted its strong arm in vindication of the Government, and of free government, and in lifting that arm, and appealing to the God of battles, it has been decided that the institution of Slavery must go down. This has been done, and the goddess of liberty, in bearing witness over many of our battlefields since the struggle commenced, has made her loftiest flight and proclaimed that true liberty has been established upon a more permanent and enduring basis than heretofore. But this is not all, and as you have paid me the compliment to call upon me, I shall take the privilege of saying one or two words, as I am before you. I repeat, that it is not all over when the sword is returned to its scabbard, when your arms are reversed, and the olive branch of peace is extended. As I remarked before, resentment and revenge should subside. Then what is to follow? You do understand, no doubt, and if you do not you cannot understand too soon, that simply liberty does not mean the privilege of going into the battlefield, or into the service of the country as soldiers. It means other things as well. And now, when you have laid down your arms, there are other objects of equal importance before you. Now that the Government has triumphantly passed through this mighty rebellion, after the most gigantic battles the world ever saw, the problem is before you, and it is best that you should understand it; and therefore I speak simply and plainly. Will you now, when you have returned from the army of the United States and taken the position of the citizen—when you have returned to the avocations of peace—will you give evidence to the world that you are capable and competent to govern yourselves? That is what you will have to do. Liberty is not a mere idea, a mere vagary; it is a reality; and when you come to examine this question of liberty, you will not be mistaken in a mere idea for the reality. It does not consist in idleness. Liberty does not consist in being worthless; liberty does not consist in doing all things as we please; and there can be no liberty without law. In a government of freedom and liberty there must be law, and there must be obedience and submission to law without regard to colour. Liberty—and may I not call you my countrymen?—liberty consists in the glorious privilege of work, of pursuing the ordinary avocations of peace with industry and with economy, and that being done, all those who have been industrious and economical are permitted to appropriate and enjoy the products of their own labour. This is one of the great blessings of freedom; and hence we might ask the question, and answer it, by stating that liberty means freedom to work and enjoy the products of your own labour. You will soon be mustered out of the ranks. It is for you to establish the great fact that you are fit and qualified to be free. Here freedom is not a mere idea, but is something that exists in fact. Freedom is not the privilege to live in idleness. Liberty does not mean simply to resort to low saloons, and other places of disreputable character. Freedom and liberty do not mean that people ought to live in licentiousness, but

liberty means simply to be industrious; to be virtuous, to be upright in all our dealings and relations with men. And to those now before me, members of the 1st regiment of Coloured Volunteers from the District of Columbia and the capital of the United States, I have to say that a great deal depends on yourselves. You must give evidence that you are competent for the rights that the Government have guaranteed to you. Henceforth each and all of you must be measured according to your merit. If one man is more meritorious than another they cannot be equals, and he is most exalted that is most meritorious, without regard to colour, and the idea of having a law passed in the morning that will make a white man a black before night, and a black man a white man before day, is absurd. This is not the standard. It is your own conduct, it is your own merit, it is the development of your own talents, your own intellectual and moral qualities. Let this, then, be your course. Adopt a system of morality, abstain from all licentiousness; and let me say one thing here, for I am going to talk plainly. I have lived in the Southern States all my life, and know what has too often been the case. There is one thing you should esteem higher and more supreme than almost all others, and that is the solemn contract, with all the penalties, of married life. Men and women should abstain from those qualities and habits that too frequently follow a war. Inculcate among your children and among your associates, notwithstanding you are just back from the army of the United States, that virtue, that merit, that intellect are the standards to be observed, and those which you are determined to maintain during your future lives. This is the way to make white men black, and black men white. He that is most meritorious, and virtuous, and intellectual, and well-informed, must stand highest, without regard to colour. It is the very basis upon which heaven rests itself. Each individual takes his degree in sublimer and more exalted regions in proportion to his merits and his virtues. Then I shall say to you on this occasion, on returning to your homes and firesides, after feeling conscious and proud of having faithfully discharged your duty—returning with a determination that you will perform your duty in future as you have in the past—abstain from all bickerings, and jealousies, and revengeful feelings, which too often spring up between different races. There is a great problem before us, and I may as well allude to it here in this connection, and that is, whether this race can be incorporated and mixed with the people of the United States, to be made a harmonious and permanent ingredient in the population. This is a problem not yet settled, but we are in a fair way to do so. Slavery raised its head against the Government, and the Government raised its strong arm and struck it to the ground. So that part of the problem is settled—the institution of Slavery is overthrown. But another part remains to be solved, and that is, can four millions of people, raised as they have been, with all the prejudices of the whites, can they take their place in the community and be made to work harmoniously and congruously in our system? This is a problem to be considered.

Are the digestive powers of the American Government sufficient to receive this element in its new shape, and digest it, and make it work healthfully upon the system that has incorporated it? This is the question to be determined. Let us make the experiment, and make it in good faith. If that cannot be done, there is another problem before us: if we have to become a separate and a distinct people—although I trust that the system can be made to work harmoniously, and the great problem be settled without going any further—if it should be that the two races cannot agree, and live in peace and prosperity, and the laws of Providence should require that they be separated, in that event, looking to the far distant future, and trusting it may never come—if it should, that Providence, that works mysteriously but unerringly and certainly, will point out the way, the mode, and the manner by which these people are to be separated, and they are to be taken to their land of inheritance and promise, for such a one is before them. Hence we are making the experiment. Hence let me impress upon you the importance of controlling your passions, developing your intellect, and of applying your physical powers to the industrial interests of the country. And that is the true process by which this question can be settled. Be patient, persevering, and forbearing, and you will help to solve the problem. Make for yourselves a reputation in this cause, as you have won for yourselves a reputation in the cause in which you have been engaged. In speaking to the members of this regiment, I want them to understand, that so far as I am concerned, I do not assume or pretend that I am stronger than the laws of nature, or that I am wiser than Providence itself. It is our duty to try and discover what those great laws are which are at the foundation of all things, and having discovered what they are, conform our actions and our conduct to them, and to the will of God, who willeth all things. He holds the destinies of nations in the palm of His hand, and He will solve the question and rescue these people from the difficulties that have so long surrounded them. Then let us be patient, industrious, and persevering. Let us develop our intellectual and moral worth. I trust what I have said may be understood and appreciated. Go to your homes, and lead prosperous and happy lives in peace with all men. Give utterance to no word that would cause dissensions, but do that which will be creditable to yourselves and your country. To the officers who have commanded and so nobly led you in the field I also return my thanks for the compliment you have conferred on me."

THE BLACK CODE OF GEORGIA.

WE clip the following from the *Anti-Slavery Standard*. It furnishes an insight into the intended policy of Georgia respecting its slaves and its coloured population, had the slave-holders' Confederacy succeeded in establishing its independence, and may be useful to shew what dangers hang over the newly-acquired freedom of

the coloured people, unless they obtain, by the right of suffrage, the power of controlling the reconstruction of the State laws.

To the Editor of the *Standard*.

"SIR,—Senator Sumner has just and justly declared that emancipation is not complete as long as the black code exists. Its enormities are comparatively unknown to the people of the North; nor does it seem to be known, that, although Slavery is dead, its deadly spawn of laws still lives. Abolitionists can do no better service to the slave than picture the black code as it is in every State. I subjoin my quota of the work for the times.

"Let us examine the code of a single State. It would be unfair to select South Carolina, for her barbarism is of great age and notorious, and one naturally expects no good to come out of her. But Georgia is one of the least cruel of the Slave States. At Savannah and Augusta, a few years ago, the public auction of slaves was prohibited by law. Georgia was 'the Yankee State of the South,' proud of that name before she bowed to the yoke of Carolina. Her code will be found to be one of the most humane of all.

"When General Hood was amusing himself in carrying out the programme of Mr. Davis—tearing down bridges and tearing up railroads—I was at Atlanta, where Sherman was resting his army for its great march to the sea. In the absence of a higher style of literature I carefully studied the code of Georgia, and made the notes that follow for future use. This seems to be the crisis when they can be of practical importance, and I send them, therefore, as they were written at the time.

I.

"I have before me 'The Code of the State of Georgia, prepared by R. H. Clark, T. R. R. Cobb, and D. Irwin. Atlanta, Georgia: Published by John H. Seals, Crusader Book and Job Office. 1861.' It is a legal octavo of 1058 pages, which has probably not yet found its way into the law libraries of the North, as it is a Confederate document, and has been published since the system of State exchange was stopped by the civil war.

"It is a Confederate official publication, and yet the very first section of the 'Preliminary Provisions' seems to deny the fundamental theory of the rebel political philosophy, for it declares that—

"The laws of this State shall be thus graduated in reference to their obligation: 1st. The Constitution of the Confederate States; 2d, Treaties entered into by the Federal (!) Government within the scope of their power; 3d, Laws of the Confederate States made in pursuance of the Constitution; 4th, The Constitution of this

State; 5th, The Statutes of this State; 6th, Such portions of the Common, Civil, Canon, and Statute Laws of England as were usually in force in the province of Georgia prior to the 14th May 1776, which were applicable to the condition and habits of the people, so far as the same are consonant with our form of Government, and are not repealed, modified, or superseded by the provisions of this code; 7th, The customs of any trade or business shall be binding only when it is of such universal practice as to justify the conclusion that it became, by implication, a part of the contract.'

"I have quoted the whole section to shew that it is a distinct repudiation of the rebel theory, that supreme allegiance is due to the State. The recognition of Federal treaties, although not noted in the table of errata, is probably the result of the same blunder which, in the Confederate Episcopal Prayer-book, in its prayer at sea, preserves a petition for the President of the United States.

WHO ARE WHITES?

"Persons having one-eighth, or more, of negro or African blood in their veins are not white persons in the meaning of this code." (§ 50.)

STATUS OF MOTHER AND CHILD.

"The status of every person in this State, upon the question of freedom, is determined by the status of his or her mother." (57.)

"The substitute of the word father for mother in this section would have liberated over half a million of slaves, but it would have stopped the traffic which consists of the sale of children by their fathers.

NEGRO RECRUITING IN GEORGIA.

"Free men of colour above the age of sixteen years, unless belonging to the Fire department, shall be subjected to the call of any volunteer military organization, if there be any in the town or city of their residence, in the capacity of musician, pioneer, mechanic, or servant, and if there is no such voluntary organization, then to the militia in one of the aforesaid capacities, and they shall be entitled to the usual wages for the practice of such occupations." (§ 995.)

NEGRO SEAMEN.

"Chap. III. (Part 1, Title 15), is devoted to 'Free negroes landing from vessels, and herein of free negro seamen.' It is too long for quotation, but it decrees that all vessels bringing free negroes into any port of Alabama, unless they are seamen, or necessary to navigation, shall forfeit 2000 dollars for each person, recoverable by libel or otherwise on the ship, or by proceedings against master, or both; one-half the fine to be paid to the informer, the other half to go to the educational fund of the county; the white offender also being liable to imprisonment for not longer than six months.

"Masters of vessels bringing free negroes as seamen are required to report them, and obtain

passes for them immediately on their arrival in port, it being optional with the authorities to give or refuse such passes. Vessels from Florida and South Carolina are exempt, from this obligation.

"Free negroes landing without such passes are to be imprisoned till the sailing of the vessel, and the masters fined 1000 dollars for each person so offending, the money to be paid into the city treasury. If the master of the vessel refuses or neglects to pay the expenses of a free negro so imprisoned, and to carry him away, he shall be fined 500 dollars, and be put in the common jail not more than three months.

"National vessels are excepted from the operation of these laws.

"Negroes shipwrecked, or driven by stress of weather or accidents to Alabama ports, are allowed a month to leave, 'but the authorities shall take proper measures to prevent communication by said persons with coloured persons.'

THE PATROL.

"Chap. V. (same Part and Title), is devoted to 'the government of slaves and negroes.' Article I. contains the patrol laws.

"This patrol system was the nucleus of the present rebel army, and greatly aided to foster the military spirit, and afford the training which so speedily made the insurgents formidable as a belligerent power. It was a distinctive characteristic of the South. Nothing at all like it exists in the Northern States.

"Three Commissioners of Patrol in each militia district were appointed by the Justices of the inferior courts annually—in November—whose duty was to make out a list of all persons liable to patrol duty, and organize from them two or more companies of not more than ten men each, to whom a separate division of the district was assigned. Each person enrolled in this service was required to keep always in readiness, and carry with him, on service, one good gun or pistol, and at least six rounds of cartridges.

"All white males, from sixteen to sixty, unless specially exempted, were required to perform patrol duty. In this practical operation it proved, I was long ago informed, an efficient means of protecting the slaveholders by the non-slaveholding class, on whom all the burden of the system fell, for special exemptions could readily enough be obtained by the wealthy citizens.

"The duties of the patrols are thus defined in § 1363:

"The patrols shall examine the plantations in their divisions at such times as their discretion may dictate, but at least one day or night in fifteen; shall take up all slaves they see off their masters' premises, if they know them, and when they do not know them, and they are not on such premises; all slaves without the fences, or outside the limits of an incorporated town,

who have not some permission in writing to be absent, or some other writing or evidence to shew the reasonableness of the absence, or who have not some white person in company, or who can give no good account of themselves. They shall correct such slaves by whipping with a switch, whip, or cowhide, not exceeding twenty lashes, and in such a manner as not to injure or permanently mark his body. If the slave is insolent or unruly, after such chastisement, the patrol shall carry him to his master or employer, and all further whipping shall be in his presence. If he refuses to allow him whipped, he shall be carried to a justice of the peace, and all further whipping shall be under his direction.'

"In the prosecution of these *Legréan* 'duties,' they were empowered to examine all negro passes, examine all negro houses for offensive weapons and ammunition, 'pursue any fugitive slave who avoids them by hiding or running into any dwelling, or if they hear of any such being harboured in any dwelling of any white person, they shall first ask leave to search of the person in charge, if any, or to deliver up said slave, and if said person shall refuse to grant either, they, if they have seen such slave enter, or know that he is there, may enter therein and take him.'

"On finding any weapons, or accoutrements, or ammunition in any negro house, or on the person, or in the possession of any slave or free person of colour, contrary to law, such patrols may seize and take away the same, and, after legally forfeiting it, appropriate it to his own use."

"Any persons opposing patrol companies, or members of them, in the discharge of these duties, were liable to a fine of 100 dollars for the first offence, and, for the second, to a fine and imprisonment for not exceeding sixty days."

"These are the leading requisites of a slave's pass:

"A permit to a slave should specify the place or places where is allowed to visit, and the length of time he is permitted to be absent. No permit shall extend over a greater length of time than one month. A slave at the house of his wife, by permission of her master, needs no permit. A free person of colour needs no permit in the daytime."

"Section 1367 (this chapter) is quite cool for a region so far South as Georgia. It reads:

"Nothing in this code shall be construed to deny to any master the right, in time of invasion or insurrection, in good faith, to arm his trusty slave for the defence of himself and his property!"

"I had a talk with an old negro yesterday, which furnishes a commentary on this section:

"Dey talked ov making de cullud people soljers in dis town, 'fore de Yankees come, but dey was afered to trust dem. Yoo-o, golly, if dey had, dey'd uv ketch it! . . . Fore you

uns come, wherever you see de cullud folks talk-in', you hear um say, "I wish my master ud come 'long." Do you knows who dey means by our massa?"

"I didn't know."

"Dey means you uns!"

"So 'the master,' by this provision of Georgia's code, has rightful authority, in the 'time of invasion and insurrection,' to arm his 'trusty slaves!' And he is going to do it all along his line of supplies!"

"The last section of the patrol law provides that all its provisions shall apply to all free persons of colour."

"Thus, by this system of patrols, the whole free population were made slave-hunters and slave-whippers: accustomed to military rule and the practice of carrying and using arms; demoralized as men and disciplined as soldiers, both."

"No white man was required to have a pass. It was the badge of Slavery. Now, 'missus,' 'young missus,' and 'mass'r,' when at home, are often arrested by the peremptory 'Halt!' of a negro, sometimes a former slave, and compelled to shew him *their* pass. This has repeatedly occurred at Dalton. 'Halt' is the sweetest word I ever said," was the comment of a negro soldier, on describing an occurrence of this nature."

"This patrol system has not been sufficiently noticed in descriptions of Southern life. Its expenses—in time, guns, ammunition, fines, and office-labour—to say nothing of its ruinous influence on the morals of the patrol himself, have never been footed up and placed on the debtor page, in estimates of the failure of Slavery as a system of labour or a social institution."

"The patrols were not the only men who were legally bound to protect the 'slave property' of the ruling class. Justices of the peace, in addition to the duty already noted, of superintending the lashing of negroes at large, were obliged to perform other services, and to detail the general public on special occasions for the purpose of keeping the slave within the limits of his very limited liberty."

"For example, here are three sections of Article II. (Part I, Title 15) of the Code of Georgia, copied in full and in their order, lest any one, seeing how inhuman in spirit and degrading in character they are, should suppose that I misapprehend their intent:

"§ 1369. No congregation or company of slaves, exceeding seven males in number, shall under any pretence, except for divine worship, assemble themselves outside of any incorporated town, and then they must be under the control and presence of as many as five citizens of the neighbourhood, except slaves who may assemble on their master's premises, when he or his overseer is present. Other slaves, by their master's permission in writing, may also join in such assemblies."

"§ 1370. Every justice of the peace, upon his knowledge, or information of others, may go in person, or by warrant directed to any officer or private person, or both, and command the assistance of other persons to disperse any assembly of negroes which may disturb, endanger the safety, or excite the apprehension of the community. Every negro taken at such assemblages may, by special order of said justices, be corrected, without trial, by receiving on bare back not more than twenty lashes with the instrument (switch, whip, and cowhide) allowed to be used by the patrols, and in the same manner."

"§ 1071. Such officers or persons may be also specially empowered by a justice of the peace of the district, under warrant, to do whatever the patrol may do, and to bring offenders to a speedy trial."

"These provisions made the entire population tributary to the slave-power."

"Any officer refusing to issue such warrants, or any person refusing to assist an officer, was fined five dollars for every offence."

"But a still larger 'liberty to larrup a negro,' as Southern rights have been defined, was granted by the very chapter we are reviewing."

"Section 1374 is in these words:

"Any person may take up any negroes that may be found out of the plantation or place where they belong, or incorporated town where they reside, acting unlawfully or under suspicious circumstances; and if found with an offensive weapon, shall take the same away; and if the negro is insolent or refuses to answer, may whip said negro as the patrol may."

"Section 1376 declares that it shall be unlawful for any church, society, or other body, or any persons, to grant any licence or other authority to any slave or free person of colour to preach, or exhort, or otherwise officiate in church matters."

"Masters, overseers, or employers of slaves were liable to a fine of 500 dollars for permitting their people to carry arms, hold illegal meetings—that is, assemblages of over seven persons—or feast unlawfully, whatever that may be: one-half of the fine to go to the informer, and the other half to the educational fund."

"This granting of fines accruing from violations of patrol and slave laws is a noticeable feature in the Georgia code. Either there were few violations of these laws or the funds were misapplied; for the ignorance of the lower classes here is amazing."

"Although there are separate chapters of laws relating to slaves and free persons of colour, the negro makes his way into many others. Thus, in the chapter on fishing, the last section declares that it shall be lawful for all patrols and all civil officers, at all times, to visit and search all vessels, covered flats, or arks, and boats engaged in fishing, or trading illegally with slaves, or disseminating incendiary publications on any

river in this State, and to cause offenders therein found against any of the laws of Georgia to be committed or bound over to answer therefor."

"In Part II., or the Civil Code, there are some very plain and very harsh principles laid down."

"Thus:

"A slave is one over whose person, liberty, labour, and property another has legal control.—§ 1599."

"All negroes and mulattoes are deemed, and are hereby declared to be, *prima facie* slaves, and it rests upon those alleging freedom to prove it.—§ 1600."

"All slaves are chattels personal, and to be governed by the same laws, except in cases expressly provided by statute, or where the nature of the property requires a modification of the ordinary rule.—§ 1602."

"While the slave is under the dominion of his master, third persons have no right of dominion over him, further than the laws give such right for police purposes.—§ 1604."

"This takes away all right of a husband over his wife, if she be a slave, and over his children; for another section declares that

"The children of all female slaves shall follow the condition of their mother, and shall belong to the person holding title to the mother at the time of their birth. If there be several estates in the mother, the same shall attach to the offspring."

"A slave cannot acquire or hold property. All his acquisitions belong to his master. Gifts to him, accompanied by delivery, accrue to the benefit of the master; without delivery, they cannot be enforced by law.—§ 1605."

"All property held by a slave, with the consent of his master, is subject to the will of his master at any time.—§ 1605."

"Does it seem credible that these axioms were laid down only three years since, and are still in force in Georgia, everywhere outside our lines, or that there are persons in the North who really desire to purchase Reconstruction at the price of perpetuating this satanic system?"

"Section 1608 gives free coloured people the right of selling themselves into perpetual slavery! They must do it 'voluntarily,' and 'the sale must be made openly, at a regular term of the inferior court of the county.'"

"Section 1609 forbids the importation of negroes from their native land or a foreign country, allowing it from States of the Confederacy, but providing that in case such slaves are illegally imported they shall be—set free? restored to their natural rights? Not a bit of it; but 'placed under the control of the executive of this State, and sold by his order under such regulations as he may prescribe;' one-fourth of the proceeds to be given to the informer, the balance to be put into the public treasury. There is only one chance for the negroes to be saved from this cruel doom, and it is stated in these words:

"If, prior to said sale, the American Colonization Society shall voluntarily propose to take possession of such negroes, and at their own expense colonize the same in Africa, the Governor is authorized to deliver the same to them."

"FREE NEGROES"

according to this code (§ 1612) 'are entitled to no right of citizenship, except such as are given them, by law;' yet 'all laws enacted in reference to slaves, and in their nature applicable to free persons of colour, shall be construed to include them, unless specially exempted;' their immigration into the State is prohibited; free coloured natives, if they leave the States, and reside six months in any free State, are not permitted to return; all free coloured people, whether as intelligent as Fred. Douglass or of ordinary intellect, are obliged to have guardians, their names, age, parentage, and other particulars of their lives, being noted in a public registry, kept by a class of officials called ordinaries. These and other regulations caused the coloured freedman to feel that he was under the ban, and occupied a position of hopeless inferiority in social life to the poorest and most ignorant of the dominant race.

"These 'guardians receive for their services the same compensation as the guardians of minor children.' They are removable, at the request of the free person, and at the discretion of the ordinary. It is through this guardian that a free coloured person sues and is sued, contracts and is contracted with. When judgments are rendered against the guardian, the property of the ward only is held to answer; if he have no property, he is bound out until his labour pays the debt. Free coloured persons cannot hold slaves in Georgia. They can hold any kind of real and personal estate through their guardians; but 'any attempt, directly or indirectly, by trust or otherwise, to secure the legal, equitable, or any beneficial interest in slaves to a free person of colour, shall be void, and the whole of the title to such slave shall be forfeited to the State, to be recovered by the escheator of the county, one-half to the informer and the other to the education fund of the county.'"

"In Louisiana many of the wealthy planters are mulattoes. It is so everywhere in the French colonies. The French did not enslave their coloured bastards, as our Southern chivalry almost always do; but educated them, gave them property, the right of holding the blacks in bondage, and then ostracized them socially. *Mais nous avons changé à tout cela!*

"JAMES REDPATH."

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1865.

FRIEND OR FOE.

THE *African Times* is the official organ of the *African Aid Society*, an Association established, some five or six years ago, especially to promote civilization in Africa, by assisting to emigrate to that country such of the coloured people of the United States, as were able to contribute a proportion of the expense of their journey and settlement. The scheme fell through; and if the Society is in existence at the present hour, it is mainly due to the intelligent activity of its chief officer, who is also the editor of its journal. We are certain that the gentlemen who constitute the "council" of this Society, would not wittingly do or say any thing likely to re-act to the disparagement of the race over which they profess to spread their peculiar shield; wherefore is it the more to be regretted that their official organ is allowed to issue allegations and statements, and put forth theories, the former wholly at variance with fact, the latter antagonistic to the cause the Society asserts itself anxious to assist. During the recent struggle in the United States, the *African Times* manifested very decided leanings towards the South, and ventured on more than one hazardous prediction as to the result of the contest. Not only was the South to achieve its independence, but the Union was to be split up into sections, everlastingly divided. Such vaticinations—founded upon most imperfect knowledge—were, perhaps, pardonable on the score of that aberration of foresight common to mortal prophets, and notwithstanding the obvious inconsistency of a professing friend of the enslaved race's lending what support was in its power, to the cause of its enemy. No sooner is the sanguinary struggle at an end, than this same journal introduces into its columns, statements respecting the present condition of the freedmen, calculated not only totally to mislead its readers, but to create a strong prejudice against these lately emancipated people. These mis-statements are the less excusable, because the means of obtaining accurate information are easily accessible. We will quote in support of our allegations, and in justification of our censure, a few sentences from the September number of the *African Times*, merely premising that the articles from which they are extracted appear as editorials.

At page 30 an article will be found headed, "Condition of Freed Negroes in the Southern Federal States." It says:

Advices from all parts of the South have continued to represent the condition of the freedmen to be deplorable. Even those who were willing to work found difficulty in getting remunerative employment, and thousands were falling into a condition of vagabondage, or adopting lawless pursuits. In the cities and large towns, to which the negroes flocked from the rural districts, the white inhabitants were in self-preservation compelled in many cases to drive out the intruders in order to avoid a famine. At Macon the citizens drove a great number of negroes out of that place, and warned them not to return. Public meetings were held in other cities to secure a general expulsion of negroes from the large towns, where their alleged idleness and lawless conduct is said to have developed a condition of affairs positively insufferable. Home guards for the protection of exposed houses and other property were organized, and numbers of negroes punished for theft, rape, arson, and other crimes. The mortality among the negroes is said to have been very great, and it is generally expected that when entirely deprived of Government rations and hospital stores they must suffer greatly from disease and hunger. It is understood that the civil authorities under the new provisional governors are endeavouring to establish a fixed rate of wages for the freedmen on plantations. Some of them now work for rations alone, while others demand wages, and in some cases, as may be supposed, exorbitant ones. All this was to be expected under so sudden a disruption of ties between them and their old masters. Had they been white people instead of black, similar results would have necessarily ensued, and some little time must be allowed for society to settle down comfortably upon the new basis of the personal freedom of every human being in the mixed community.

Now any one who has read the reports of the agents of the various Freedmen's-Aid Societies in the United States, of the Government Commissioners, and of individuals who have traversed the districts most thickly populated by the emancipated slaves, will at once perceive how grossly exaggerated are some of these statements, and how untrue many others. That there have occurred disturbances here and there is true, but these have been very partial, and not provoked by the "negroes." The pro-slavery feeling never ran higher amongst certain classes in the South, than it does at this time, when the late slave, brought face to face with his former master, asserts his own equality, and demands remuneration for service. Vagabondage is not the rule, but the exception, and arises—wherever it is found—from the force of circumstances. Men who cannot procure "remunerative employment" must seek it; but this cannot justly be called vagabondage. As to any number of the freed people "adopting lawless pursuits," we challenge the production of the proof. Evil members exist in every community, and we doubt not but a proportion of bad negroes

will be found amongst the 4,000,000 who have obtained their liberty. But this is quite a different thing to making a broad allegation against the whole body. It appears to us, that if any act were calculated to convert peaceably-disposed men into lawless ruffians, it would be the inhumanity of the people of Macon and other cities, as set forth in the above article. Again, if "theft, arson, rape and other crimes" were so rife as to necessitate the organization of "home guards," is it not certain that the American press generally would have notified the fact, and that the local authorities would have adopted stringent measures for the suppression of such atrocities, and for the punishment of the offenders? The feeling against the coloured people is sufficiently hostile to prevent the suppression in the democratic journals of any such offences as those alleged against the freedmen. We do not hesitate to affirm, that were such crimes common, the widest publicity would be given to them by the pro-slavery journals; and we are inclined to believe the editor of the *African Times* is indebted to some such polluted source for the information to which he has given the *imprimatur* of a benevolent association.

The statement concerning the withdrawal of Government rations from the freedmen also demands a few words of comment. It is notorious that the freedmen are not extensively dependent upon Government rations, and that for one hundred of those who receive them, a thousand poor whites do so. In fact, the Government is in far more trouble about the latter class, who are idle, shiftless, and depraved, than about the former, for these—though they may for a short time receive assistance—soon turn to and not only help themselves but their families and kindred. Thousands have died of "disease and hunger" it is true, but this mortality occurred during the progress of the war, and though, through the coming winter, much suffering will probably occur, and many deaths from destitution, the calamity will be the result of local causes, and we may hope the cases will be isolated.

We think our contemporary would have done well, had he, before giving currency to such statements as the above, taken the trouble to address himself for information to one of the Freedmen's-Aid Associations in London, when he would have discovered that the emancipated people in the Southern States are not only industrious, frugal, and self-helping, but orderly in conduct, and giving the most encouraging evidence of their fitness for freedom and for the exercise of the full rights of citizenship.

In another article we find the following:

"The increase of the African race in the United States since the African slave-trade was

abolished is said never to have reached 100,000 a year; and the prevalent belief is, that, as free citizens, the deaths among them will every year henceforward very considerably exceed the births."

We ask with what object is such a statement as the foregoing issued? Obviously to convey an impression, that under freedom the coloured people will gradually diminish. Can any thing be possibly more mischievous than such a theory? which, moreover, is not borne out by facts. By implication it teaches that Slavery is a physical benefit to the slave; pure proslavery doctrine. We should extend the present article to an undue length were we to go into a detailed statement demonstrating the inaccuracy of the above theory, and we have yet another extract to comment upon. We will confine ourselves to stating, that as like causes produce like effects, we may safely predict that, if in our West-India colonies the coloured population has increased under freedom, and notwithstanding the known insalubrity of some of them,* in the United States where the conditions of health are extremely favourable, the freedmen will certainly not diminish in numbers. Now, while in thirty-five years of Slavery the population of the British West Indies diminished at the rate of from one and a half to 5 per cent. every ten years, and while in eighteen years—two-thirds of which were passed under Slavery and the apprenticeship system—it increased at the rate of 3.5 per cent. in ten years, in the following eighteen years of freedom, to 1861, when the last census was taken, it augmented at the rate of 7.37 per cent., or more than double.

The last comment we have to make is upon the following extract;

"It was written that Africa should be redeemed by her own children; not those born on her soil, but those who shall have passed through the apprenticeship of servitude in strange lands, and learned the arts and religion of Christian nations in bondage."

The author of "The Kingdom of Heaven" surely does not believe what he here says, that the Slave-trade and Slavery are civilizing agencies. Why the advocates of the re-opening of the African slave-trade, with a view to "free-trade in niggers as well as nutmegs," employed this very argument in support of their abominable speculations in human flesh. What Christianity, we ask, is taught by Slavery, which is the incarnation of every sin denounced by the decalogue? What virtues are inculcated

by the whip, the paddle, and the gag? What lessons do the disgusting scenes at the auction-block instil? Assuredly this is no doctrine for any friend of the African race to promulgate. Worse still, we are told "it was written" that the regeneration of Africa should come through this polluted source. If the writer really believes what he says, it is sheer hypocrisy to condemn the slave-trade and Slavery, and all the guilt of both these huge wickednesses is at once wiped away from the perpetrators. If fatalism is to supplant religious faith, what becomes of the healthy doctrine of human responsibility, and all that depends thereon? If all the slave-dealers and slaveholders, from all time, have been only mere instruments, working out a Divine decree, how shall we dare call slaveholding a sin, and the slave-trade a crime? Deeply do we lament such teachings should come from a professed friend of the African race, and gladly would we incline to the opinion that these sentiments are not the writer's own, but have been culled from some hostile publication, and been inserted without reflection. Truly may we say, "the voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau."

IMMIGRATION AGAIN.

We are accused of animosity to immigration. The term, taken in its connexion with imported labour, is somewhat of a misnomer, and therefore apt to create a confusion of ideas. There cannot be immigration without emigration. Emigration is the inevitable consequence of a natural law. If any portion of the earth be too thickly peopled, the surplus population emigrates. It settles in and peoples a new place, and the immigrants become the progenitors of new states, or new empires. The world was created to be peopled, and he who should advance a theory against natural emigration would lay himself open to be regarded as a visionary. Immigration, then, as the converse of emigration, is a process no sane man would oppose. It would go on, in any case, in spite of him. If we are hostile to "immigration," it is because the term has received a special application, and signifies a peculiar system of obtaining and introducing foreign labour into our West-India colonies, under conditions altogether unnatural. It is not a natural process to convey away a number of people from one country, where their labour is needed for the development of its resources, and to remove them to another where the labouring population is already in excess of the demand for labour; while it is entirely contrary to sound political economy to do this at the cost chiefly of the labouring

* In Jamaica and Barbadoes alone the cholera carried off upwards of 60,000 inhabitants.—(Ed. A. S. R.)

classes of the country into which the foreign labourer is imported. This system—essentially unsound in principle—we certainly do oppose, at the same time believing it quite practicable to promote an immigration movement less open to objection than the one which seems to command so much favour in our sugar-producing colonies, but which—in all cases where it has been practised to any considerable extent—has involved them in debt.

We are prompted to pen the present article in consequence of a project which has been discussed by the *Creole*—a Demerara newspaper—for promoting what is called immigration from Africa. The plea is, that Indian and Chinese Coolie immigration is excessively, almost ruinously expensive, while there is a prospect of one being, at no distant time, completely closed.

"The supply from India," continues the article, "has for the past few years been growing small by degrees and beautifully less, and it may be stopped altogether when least expected. To depend entirely upon China seems to be out of the question. Even as a supplement Chinese immigration is a burden that taxes to the utmost the financial resources of the colony. Upon a limited scale it has already brought the colony near the verge of bankruptcy, and there is not much chance of things ever being in such a condition as to admit of any considerable extension of the system."

Pretty candid this, and confirmatory of our own views long ago expressed, though strongly opposed. But how the financial resources of the colony are to be relieved by changing the source whence the proposed new immigrant element is to be derived we cannot perceive. African immigration would be equally as expensive as any other, simply because the system is economically unsound. In the first place, those who profess to stand in need of the foreign labour do not defray the entire cost of it. An undue proportion falls upon the colony, the revenues of which are heavily taxed in consequence. To the end of the year 1863, the aggregate amount of liability for the colony of British Guiana was 591,454*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*, of which 266,800*l.*, or very nearly half, was due from the planters, on bonds having five years to run, given as security for their proportion of the cost of immigration. What was paid for this purpose out of the colonial revenue during the year, as the proportion due from the people, in the shape of indirect taxation, does not appear, nor how much was charged to planters' account. Only one point is clear, namely, that the planters owed the colonial revenue 266,800*l.* at the end of the year 1863. Now from 1841 to the end of June 1858, the colony paid for immigration no less a sum than 856,154*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.* of which

the planters paid only 154,377*l.* 7*s.* From 1841 to the 30th June 1858, the entire cost of immigration was sustained by the colony; and it was not until the 1st of July 1851 that the planters began to contribute towards the expense of future immigration. These figures shew a real total indebtedness to the colony, on the part of the planters, of 1,058,577*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.*, namely, the balance as above of 691,777*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.*, and the 266,800*l.*

Immigration from Africa is not likely to prove cheaper than from India and China. The *Creole* can see no valid objection to it, not regarding in such light the stimulus it would give to "abuses in Africa itself," which it considers might be easily avoided. We thought the fearful revelations which were made public during the operation of the French immigration scheme, under the Regis contract, had fully opened the eyes of all parties to the evils of this new system. It could not be denied that the negroes who were contracted away, to serve in the French colonies, became virtually free as soon as they had been bound to their new employers, their servitude enduring only for a term; but, on the other hand, it was established beyond the possibility of disproof, that the "recruits," as they were called, or "engagés," had been captured by the chiefs who passed them over to the French contractors, and that the sum per head the latter paid was held to be the sale-price of each individual. This demand gave an extraordinary impetus to the system of inter-tribal warfare, which the slave-dealing African chiefs prosecute for the purpose of obtaining slaves; and not only did the French profit by it, but the traders for Cuba also. In fact, it was neither more nor less than the slave-trade under a new name, but with all its old forms and all its old atrocities. It was—after much negotiation—finally suppressed, its evils having been admitted by the French Government, and we believe there is no likelihood of its being revived, under any form, even for the alleged benefit of the British-Guiana planters.

It is simply incorrect to state that there are many places on the West Coast of Africa from which immigrants might be procured, without encouraging a slave-trade. Many years ago the experiment was tried and signally failed. The native African will not emigrate of his own free-will. With exceeding difficulty do the captains of trading-vessels and of men-of-war secure the help of a few Kroomen for coast-service, and these invariably return home. All along the sea-board the native people labour for themselves, or, when not free, for their own chiefs and owners, who make

more by employing than they could by selling them. Even at Sierra Leone the liberated Africans are not to be induced to quit their actual home for distant colonies; so it must be accepted as a settled fact, that labourers for them are not obtainable from Africa. While we do not believe the *Creole* to be very seriously advocating the revival of a scheme of immigration which has already and so signally failed, we shall narrowly watch the turn the discussion takes, and sound in time due note of warning.

We have noticed with satisfaction a tendency to promote what we regard as a healthier system of immigration to British Guiana. Many hundreds of Barbadians appear to have migrated thither from their own island, and to have found immediate employment. Barbados is certainly overpopulated, and the surplus inhabitants of the labouring classes would probably find it to their advantage to seek to sell their labour on the neighbouring continent. We feel confident that where labour is really required, and where it is paid a fair equivalent, it will—like all other commodities, in any open market—always follow the law of supply and demand; but from the moment the natural course is interfered with, in any way—such, for instance, as to fix an arbitrary scale of wages—dissatisfaction and disappointment must result. The whole labour-question in our sugar-producing colonies reposes upon an unsound basis, which no fancy scheme of immigration, from whatever source, will possibly set right. We fear our planters must yet pass through a trying ordeal before they awaken to the conviction that freedom to the slave means a perfectly free market for labour as well as for produce, and that free-labour must not be brought into unfair competition with foreign-labour imported chiefly at the public expense. We shall recur to this subject from time to time.

ANTI-SLAVERY PROGRESS IN SPAIN.

THE cause of abolition is progressing in Spain. The question of emancipation is not discussed only in the Madrid journals, but forms the subject of debates in the Free-trade Society of that city. The *Abolicionista Español* for September—which did not reach us until late in the last month—contains a summary of the sittings of the Association above mentioned, on the 20th of February and the 8th of March last, when the members discussed the following theme: "Slavery considered in general, from the economical point of view, and also the means to be employed for its extinction,

should it be judged desirable." This was submitting the question in its mildest form, but it elicited facts of a most encouraging character.

Senor Vizcarrondo stated that Cuba and Porto Rico stood in a different relation with regard to the system of Slavery; for while in the former the labourers are exclusively negroes, in the latter, whites work as well as blacks. When Porto Rico had 70,000 slaves, her production of sugar amounted to 50,000 boxes. She has now fewer than 8000 who cultivate the cane, yet she produces 200,000 boxes: hence her increased production does not necessitate the employment of additional negro labour. On the estates where most sugar is made, the hardest-working labourers are whites, which proves the fallacy of the commonly-received allegation, that the white man cannot support the fatigue of labouring in a tropical climate. Where most slave-labour is employed, it is found that the excessive mortality among the slaves, who are regarded and treated only as so many machines, involves a loss which exceeds the gross value of any excessive production, so that the balance is in favour of free-labour. Senor Vizcarrondo also took advantage of the opportunity to correct an erroneous statement recently made by the Minister for the Colonies, to the effect that emancipation would be most dangerous, as it had proved to be in the case of Haiti, where the slaves had risen in rebellion. This was incorrect. Emancipation in that island had not produced revolt. Two years peace followed that act, when the French Government sought to reimpose upon the enfranchised people their former yoke. This attempt they rose against, and hence the so-called rebellion. It could be shown, that in the British West Indies, production had largely increased since emancipation. Jamaica, it is true, presented an exception, but the cause of her diminished exports must be sought in the times which preceded emancipation, when estates in a condition of chronic insolvency had to be abandoned, notwithstanding the special fiscal advantages accorded to the owners. At least 130 plantations had been abandoned long before the abolition of Slavery. In Cuba, a meeting had taken place of the owners of 100,000 slaves, who wished to study the question of abolition, but permission had been denied them. The establishment of the new Anti-Slavery Society, about to be inaugurated, would help forward this question, and it had a great mission to accomplish.

Senor Felix de Bona pointed out that in Porto Rico, as free-labour had beaten slave-labour, the whole question had settled itself.

Senor Sanchez Ruano said, that before

the economical question, came that of the justice or the injustice of Slavery. On the latter point there could be no discussion, as he held it to have been long ago settled in favour of the slave. The only difference that could arise would be on the subject of the means of abolishing a system all desired to see extinguished. Slavery had ever been condemned by the Christian world, and the Old-Testament dispensation under Moses also condemned it. It also stood condemned according to the principles of political economy, for slave-labour fulfilled none of the conditions of labour, to be of the greatest use to society, while it was also most immoral. Neither was it to the interest of the master, for the slave works under compulsion, and is therefore prompted to indolence, which—contrary to what is alleged—is not the characteristic of the negro, save only as one of the consequences of the system of Slavery.

The President encouraged a continuation of the discussion, expressing his views of the great importance of the question.

Senor de Vizcarrondo said there were two means of abolishing Slavery; the first to indemnify the owners, and declare the slaves free at once; the second to enact measures for the non-augmentation of the slave population, so that freedom might come gradually. In Venezuela, means had been adopted to prevent the slave-trade, and to favour free immigration. All children newly born of slave parents were to be free, after a twenty-one years' tutelage. Hence, in 1849, the slave population had been reduced to from 4000 to 5000.* Some such system might be combined with the annual emancipation of a certain number of slaves, to be designated by lot, the owners to be indemnified. Under any circumstances, the slave-trade ought to be abolished. So long as from 12,000 to 15,000 slaves are annually imported into the Antilles, emancipation is impossible. Spain had received £400,000 from England, to indemnify the slave-traders, and the most energetic measures ought to be adopted to secure the abolition of the traffic, while the local authorities should have power to visit the estates to verify the number of slaves in them from time to time.

Senor Rodriguez (Don Gabriel) pointed out the difficulties which tended to prevent a solution of the question, arising out of the denial to the colonists of all political rights.

The President and Senor Sanchez Ruano dwelt strongly upon the importance of conceding political rights to the colonists.

Senor Fernandez Vazquez maintained that in Cuba Slavery was a necessary evil, and that Spain had not failed to keep her treaties with England.

Senor de Vizcarrondo rectified the grievous errors into which the last speaker had fallen, and Senor Sanchez Ruano confirmed Senor Vizcarrondo's assertion, that if there existed any kind of liberty whatever in Cuba, it was due to the capricious condescension of the local government, and not to the system under which the colony is ruled.

We have given only a brief summary of the discussion at these two meetings, which, it may be well to note, took place before the public inauguration of the *Spanish Abolitionist Society*. Since then, the champion of the pro-slavery party—Senor de Couto—has given publicity to his theories, and been silenced; and we now learn that the following Spanish journals are pledged to sustain the cause of abolition.

Las Novedades.	
La Iberia.	
La Nacion.	
El Progreso Constitucional.	
La Democracia.	
El Pueblo.	
La Gaceta de Procuradores.	} Madrid.
El Pabellon Nacional.	
La Epoca.	
El Espiritu Publico.	
El Fomento de las Artes.	
La Bolsa.	
La Soberania Nacional.	
La Gaceta Economista.	
El Peninsular.	} Cadiz.
El Eco de Cadiz.	
La Corona.	
El Lloid Español.	} Barcelona.
El Comercio de Barcelona.	
Los Dos Reinos.	} Valencia.
El Eco del Comercio.	
La Jóven Asturias.	Oviedo.
El Eco del Methodia.	Almeria.
El Irurat-Batt.	} Bilbao.
El Eco Bilbaino.	
La Revista Mataronesa.	Mataro.
El Fomento de Cuenca.	Cuenca.
El Ampurdanés.	Figueras.
La Publicidad.	Ubeda.
El Anunciador.	} Sarragossa.
El Eco de Aragon.	
La Gaceta del Comercio.	Santander.

Besides these, "La Patria, La Politica, El Eco del Pais, and El Diaro Español," all Madrid papers, although not strictly pledged, as the former are, to the anti-slavery movement, have published articles strongly denouncing Slavery, and declared themselves partisans of reform in this direction. Thus there is every prospect of a rapid enlightenment of public opinion, a task not pre-eminently difficult, seeing that

* In 1853 the Venezuelan Government decreed immediate emancipation.—Ed. A.S.R.

out of a total population of 15,673,481, only 3,130,015 know how to read and write, 705,660 can read but not write, and 11,837,415 can do neither. No wonder the press is so important an element of reform in Spain, and that the power of effecting fundamental changes resides with so small a section of the nation at large. The Spanish press once unanimously in favour of the abolition of Slavery, the cause is gained.

A FREEDMAN TO HIS OLD MASTER.

THE following is said to be a genuine document, and to have been dictated by the old slave. It is certainly a curiosity in its way, and presents a kaleidoscopic internal view of slavery. The proposed 'test' is a delightful joke.

Dayton, Ohio, Aug. 7, 1865.

To my old Master, Col. P. H. ANDERSON, *Big Spring, Tennessee.*

"SIR—I got your letter, and was glad to find that you had not forgotten Jordan, and that you wanted me to come back and live with you again, promising to do better for me than anybody else can. I have often felt uneasy about you. I thought the Yankees would have hung you long before this for harbouring rebs they found at your house. I suppose they never heard about your going to Col. Martin's to kill the Union soldier that was left by his company in their stable. Although you shot at me twice before I left you I did not want to hear of your being hurt, and am glad you are still living. It would do me good to go back to the dear old home again, and see Miss Mary and Miss Martha and Allen, Esther, Green, and Lee. Give my love to them all, and tell them I hope we will meet in the better world, if not in this. I would have gone back to see you all when I was working in the Nashville Hospital, but one of the neighbours told me that Henry intended to shoot me if he ever got a chance.

"I want to know particularly what the good chance is you propose to give me. I am doing tolerably well here: I get 25 dols. a month, with victuals and clothing; have a comfortable home for Mandy, (the folks here call her Mrs. Anderson,) and the children, Milly, Jane, and Grundy, go to school and are learning well: the teacher says Grundy has a head for a preacher. They go to Sunday-school, and Mandy and me attend church regularly. We are kindly treated. Sometimes we overhear others saying, "Them coloured people were slaves down in Tennessee." The children feel hurt when they hear such remarks, but I tell them it was no disgrace in Tennessee to belong to Col. Anderson. Many darkies would have been proud, as I used to was, to call you master. Now, if you will write and say what wages you will give me, I will be better able to decide whether it would be to my advantage to move back again.

"As to my freedom, which you say I can have, there is nothing to be gained on that score, as I got my free-papers in 1864 from the Provost-Marshal-

General of the Department at Nashville. Mandy says she would be afraid to go back without some proof that you are sincerely disposed to treat us justly and kindly; and we have concluded to test your sincerity by asking you to send us our wages for the time we served you. This will make us forget and forgive old sores, and rely on your justice and friendship in the future. I served you faithfully for thirty-two years, and Mandy twenty years. At 25 dols. a month for me, and 2 dols. a week for Mandy, our earnings would amount to 11,680 dols. Add to this the interest for the time our wages has been kept back, and deduct what you paid for our clothing and three doctor's visits to me, and pulling a tooth for Mandy, and the balance will shew what we are in justice entitled to. Please send the money by Adams' Express, in care of V. Winters, Esq., Dayton, Ohio. If you fail to pay us for faithful labours in the past, we can have little faith in your promises in the future. We trust the good Maker has opened your eyes to the wrongs which you and your fathers have done to me and my fathers, in making us toil for you for generations without recompense. Here I draw my wages every Saturday night, but in Tennessee there was never any pay-day for the negroes, any more than for the horses and cows. Surely there will be a day of reckoning for those who defraud the labourer of his hire.

"In answering this letter, please state if there would be any safety for my Milly and Jane, who are now grown up, and both good-looking girls. You know how it was with poor Matilda and Catherine. I would rather stay here, and starve and die, if it come to that, than have my girls brought to shame by the violence and wickedness of their young masters. You will also please state if there has been any schools opened for the coloured children in your neighbourhood. The great desire of my life now is to give my children an education, and have them form virtuous habits.

"From your old servant,

"GEORGE ANDERSON.

"P.S.—Say howdy to George Carter, and thank him for taking the pistol from you when you were shooting at me."

NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF BRITISH FREEMEN'S-AID ASSOCIATIONS.

THE National Committee of British Freedmen's Aid Associations have just issued the following abstract of the report of the Executive, presented at their second Quarterly Meeting, at Bristol, on the 4th September ult.

ABSTRACT OF REPORT.

"In presenting a report of the proceedings of the Executive Committee, since the meeting at Birmingham, in June last, it may be well to revert to the origin of the National Committee.

"A proposal for fusion into one common Association of the Freedmen's-Aid Society, the Birmingham and Midland Freedmen's-Aid Association, and the Friends' Central Committee,

being found impracticable, other means were sought to secure, if possible, the advantages of harmonious co-operation, and it was proposed to form a General Committee, representing the three bodies.

"This proposal was afterwards so expanded as to include, and be submitted to, all the known Freedmen's-Aid Associations and Committees. It has received, with very few exceptions, the sanction of them all at two meetings of delegates, at the latter of which, at Birmingham, the National Committee was constituted.

"Such a Representative Committee, it was hoped, might, without infringing upon the free individual action of Local and District Societies, pursue certain well-defined objects for the general good, and, if well sustained by the bodies it represents, effect some work worthy of the name of National.

We are now assured that what has already been done by the National Committee is *much more* than could have been effected, either by the separate Societies alone, or by any fusion of them which was practicable. The earliest proof of this is found in the large amount of new contributions (1000*l.*) proposed at the public breakfast in Birmingham, and obtained within a week afterwards, and the impetus given to the cause in and beyond the Midland District.

"The Quarterly Meetings of the Committee in other large towns must prove similarly valuable, in diffusing both information and interest, just as they are sustained by the attendance of members and delegates from the Associations, and by collateral efforts in the towns where they assemble.

"Since the meeting at Birmingham, the Executive Committee has met six times; once in Birmingham, four times in London, and once in Bristol. At the first of these meetings, the hon. C. C. Leigh and Revs. Dr. Storrs and Sella Martin were present, and formally placed themselves at the service of the National Committee, which, by resolution, accepted their services, and engaged to assist them, in connection with Local Associations, in the prosecution of their labours. It was also resolved that all delegates from America should be requested to apply for the sanction of the National Committee, and furnish the Executive with reports of the results of their labours.

"The names of six gentlemen have been added to the list of the Executive by the appointment of their Associations. (By a resolution of the National Committee at Bristol, "all Presidents, Treasurers, and Secretaries of Freedmen's-Aid Associations are, *ex officio*, members, of the Executive Committee.")

"At a large meeting of the Committee to consider a proposal from the Birmingham and Midland Association, that the subject of Freedmen's-Aid, as viewed in the light of the admirable conduct of the American people, in the times of the Irish famine and Lancashire distress, should be pressed upon the attention of both Houses of Parliament, it was resolved to seek interviews with the Premier and the Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Some recognition in the British Parliament of its satisfaction in the emancipation of the slaves in the United States,

and expression of its sympathy with the difficulties consequent on such a change, were much to be desired; also that attention should be called to the records of our gratitude to America by the Parliament and Government in 1847.

"Several noblemen and members of parliament, who gave cordial and valuable aid, were seen in connection with these interviews. Large deputations were well received by Lord Palmerston and Earl Russell, and opportunity was given for further communication with the latter, who also offered to contribute to the Funds now being collected for the Freedmen.

"In reply to a communication addressed to Earl Russell by J. Hodgkin, Esq., Mr. Layard was instructed to state, '*that sympathy for those engaged in abolishing Slavery, and joy at the prospect, have been already expressed in Parliament, and in Despatches.*'

"Your Committee hoped that the topics urged by them upon the Government might be mentioned in the Queen's Speech. They judged, however, that the propriety of this had been discussed by the Cabinet, and set aside rather by their fixed policy to abstain from all comment on the internal affairs of the United-States' Government, than by indifference to the question. The effort was so far of value as to render it desirable that the friends of the freedmen should use the openings then made for an increase of strength to our cause. The remarkable *official* expression of the nation's gratitude in 1847 might well be urged with individual members of the Legislature, along with the claims of the freedmen, for their assistance, and especially upon those who still survive of the Parliament of that day.

"1000 copies of the report of the meeting at the Westminster Palace Hotel, and 1000 copies of the Duke of Argyll's speech, alone, have been published. A large number has been sent to America, in the hope that the speech especially will help to promote kindly feeling between the two nations.

"10,000 copies of an Appeal to the People of England, from the National Committee, have also been printed and widely distributed.

"Attention has been given to the question, whether in any case any part of the surplus fund of the Lancashire Distress Committee might be rightly made available for the freedmen's cause. Recently, the work of the Committee has been declared *officially* closed; the funds must therefore be open to some other appropriation. Already, in one case, the sum of 180*l.* has been transferred to one of our represented Associations; and at Birmingham a surplus of 6000*l.* is said to remain unappropriated, in the collection of which the gentlemen who were chiefly concerned are all subscribers, and some of them warm supporters of the Freedmen's-Aid Association. This matter is earnestly commended to the attention of all our District Associations.

"Circulars have been sent to these requesting returns of the total amounts raised in money and goods for their objects. Replies from twenty-six places shew, that during the last three months contributions in both kinds, to the value of 10,000*l.* have to be added to the amount

stated at Birmingham last June. This brings the total amount raised to this day not much below 50,000.

"Further experience may simplify the form in which these returns had best be made, so as to secure the purpose of them; but it is very desirable that particular information be, if possible, supplied, where requested, in order to a complete presentation and report of the national benevolence.

"In conclusion, we desire to add that we are impressed with the responsibility attaching both to ourselves as your Executive, and to the National Committee itself, as representing the public sentiment of Great Britain on the Freedmen's-Aid question.

"The present moment is surely one of critical interest as to the future condition of freedmen in America, and also as to the operations that should be undertaken and continued on their behalf in this country.

"Without supposing the work must needs be permanent, we must yet express our conviction that it will require at least two or three years of systematic and persistent effort on the part of all concerned, to make the result of our labours at all commensurate with the peculiar claims of these suffering people upon our countrymen.

(Signed) "T. FOWELL BUXTON, *Chairman*.

"WILLIAM FOWLER, *Treasurer*.

"JOSEPH SIMPSON, *Hon. Secretary*.

"ASPINALL HAMPSON, *Secretary*.

"12, Bishopsgate St. Without,

"London, E.C.

"October 1865."

AMERICAN PUBLIC MEN ON RECONSTRUCTION AND NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

THE REV. H. W. BEECHER.

"I HOLD that this nation can take care of these freedmen temporarily. It must only be temporarily, because it is in the law of nature that men shall take care of themselves. But how can we do this if we don't recognise them as men? I merely demand for the black man that he shall have the rights of a decent white man. I hold that every man under a law has a right to have a voice in the framing of that law. I advocate the enfranchisement of the freedman not because he is prepared for it, but because he must learn by practising his right. I would give the right of suffrage to every foreigner—to every Irishman; though I think that the negro would invariably cast his vote more in the spirit of our institutions than the Irish do."

THE HON. C. SUMNER AT THE REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION, WORCESTER, SEPT. 14TH, 1865.

"When last I addressed my fellow-citizens on public affairs, at the close of the late Presidential election, as we were about to vote for Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson, I undertook to shew the absolute identity between Slavery and the rebellion, so that one could not end without the other. As I finished that address, I said to friends near me that it was 'my last anti-slavery speech.' I so thought at the time; for I anticipated the speedy downfall of the re-

bellion, carrying with it Slavery. I was mistaken. Neither the rebellion nor Slavery is yet ended. The rebellion has been disarmed, but that is all. Slavery has been abolished in name, but that is all. As there is still a *quasi* rebellion, so there is still a *quasi* Slavery. The work of liberation is not yet completed. Nor can it be completed until the equal rights of every person, once claimed as a slave, are placed under the safeguard of irreversible guarantees. It is not enough to strike down the master; you must also lift up the slave. It is not enough to declare that Slavery is abolished. The whole black code, which is the supplement of Slavery, must give place to that equality before the law which is the very essence of liberty. It is an old principle of the common law, recognised by all our courts, as announced by Lord Coke, that 'where the law granteth any thing to any one, that also is granted without which the thing itself cannot be.' So also where a piece of land is granted, which is shut in by the possessions of the grantor, a right of way is implied from common justice and the necessity of the case. And then, again, where the reason of a law ceases, the law itself ceases. So, also, where the principle falls to the ground, the incident falls also. But all these unquestionable principles are fatal to the black code. The liberty that has been granted 'cannot be' if the black code exists. The piece of land that has been granted is useless without that right of way which is stopped up by the black code. The reason for the black code is Slavery; and with the cessation of the reason, the whole black code itself must cease also. The black code is the incident of Slavery, and it must fall with its principle. Unless this is accomplished, you will keep the word of promise to the ear, and break it to the sense. You will imitate those cruel quibbles, of which history makes mention, where, by subtle equivocations, faith has been violated. You will do little better than the Turk who stipulated with a certain person that his head should be safe, and straightway proceeded to cut him in two at the middle; or than those false Greeks, who, after promising to restore their captives, kept their promise by restoring them dead.

"Slavery begins by denying the right of a man to himself; and the black code fortifies this denial by its cruel exclusions. Every freedman must be secured in this right by his admission to the full panoply of citizenship. Slavery sets at naught the relation of husband and wife; every freedman must be able to call his wife his own. Slavery sets at naught the parental relation of husband and wife; every freedman must be able to call his child his own. Slavery shuts the gates of knowledge; every freedman must be assured all the privileges of education. Slavery takes from its victim the hard-earned fruits of his toil; every freedman must be protected in his industry. Slavery denies justice to the coloured man by cruelly rejecting his testimony; every freedman must enter the courts freely, as witness or as party. Until all this is done, in every particular, and beyond possibility of question, it is vain to say that emancipation has been secured. The good work is only half done. It must be continued to its assured consummation. That

same national authority which began it must take care that the good work is maintained and completed, in letter and in spirit, everywhere throughout the rebel States, in conventions of the people, in legislative assemblies, in courts, in the city, in the country, in streets, on highways, on byways, in retired places, on plantations, in houses, so that no man shall be despoiled of any of his rights, but all shall be equal before the law."

SENATOR YATES.

"As a Senator of the United States, certainly I could consider no State Government republican in form which was at variance with the fundamental principles of our republican institutions; which denied the equality of all men before the law; which set aside the principle that governments justly exist by the consent of the governed; and that taxation and representation must go together. If I am wrong, the Government is wrong. And I am here to say that I could approve of no State Government whose constitution or Bill of Rights does not deny, in express words, this right of a State to secede from the Union, and which does not provide that Slavery shall be for ever and finally abolished and prohibited, so that not even a root, seed, or grease spot shall remain of this sum of all villanies, the accursed system which has been the fountain of all our troubles, and of that fratricidal and bloody war which has desolated the land. Again, it should be expressly provided that the leaders of the rebellion, who have held offices, civil or military, under the Confederate Government, should be disfranchised, and for ever debarred the right of suffrage, and the right to hold any office of honour or profit under the Government of the United States. Again, I would confer the right of suffrage upon all loyal men. I will not, by any act of mine, open the portals of the American ballot-box to pardoned rebels, whose hands are stained with treason, and are dripping with the blood of our brave boys, and deny it to the poor coloured man who has proven his allegiance to the country by brave and heroic deeds. He has rallied round the flag—he has brought a stalwart arm and a courageous heart to his Government in the hour of its extremity and fearful need; and it would be the shame of the century and the age, if he is to be disfranchised, and left without a voice to such a barbarous legislation as his rebel master would frame for him. Let me tell politicians that there is no half-way house in this matter, and the negro will surely be allowed the right of suffrage. The moment the Government decided that his aid was necessary to save the Government, and put arms into his hands, the question was settled, because to bear arms is the highest position of honour, and if he was good enough to fight in the ranks side by side with our brave boys in blue, he is good enough to go to the polls and kill off the vote of a rebel or a copperhead. If they are citizens in war, why not citizens in peace? They vote in many of the Free States, and no harm has followed, and no complaint is made; why not in the Rebel States, especially as they constitute the principal part of the loyal people of those

States? If not permitted to vote, every Rebel State will send disloyal men to Congress, ready and plotting to precipitate the nation into internecine war, whenever the South, through Northern co-operation, might deem it safe to strike for their independence."

THE HON. WINFIELD SMITH, ATTORNEY-GENERAL OF WISCONSIN.

"The freedom of the negroes cannot be maintained unless you give them the ballot to defend it. How else can they shield themselves from oppressive laws, nay, from a return to the very servitude which we have nominally abolished? Can we, dare we, after these fearful visions of the lightning of God's wrath, permit to exist the least jot or tittle of the monster crime which has so scourged us? Have we not suffered enough?"

"What ingratitude would stamp such a course! What faithlessness! We have asked these negroes to aid us in the tremendous struggle which their contemners assured us we could not go through with. They flew to our help, and together we conquered. Is it honest, is it decent, now to cast them out as unworthy of our fellowship? In the fight, we were proud of their stalwart arms, we rejoiced in the thunder of their guns. The victory now won, shall we coldly turn our backs upon them, nay, strip them, and deliver them bound under their adversaries? I tell you, we prove ourselves unworthy of success, if we use it so. We are less than the equals of the black man if, after such trials, we will not concede to him equality—such equality, I mean, as will let him be all the man that nature made him, degraded by none of our devices, free to exercise his intellect, to improve his race, to work out the destiny which God has designed for him. If suffrage be denied to him because he is ignorant, I am content, provided all others who are not less ignorant will also waive it. We have abundant testimony how small would be the poll lists in the Southern States, if those only who are both educated and loyal should be allowed to vote. And here, in this boasting North, you and I, my friends, have too often seen voters in herds with tickets which they could not read, led to the support of measures which they would have rejected had they understood them.

"I deem it certain, then, that the black man ought to vote in the Southern States, for his sake, for our sake, for eternal justice's sake."

THE HON. W. P. CUTLER.

"This brings us to face the question, Shall the negro be allowed to vote? I say, unhesitatingly, let him vote; and I say further, that the Federal power ought to secure to him the right to vote, beyond the possibility of any interference by State authorities. It is said that hitherto the States have fixed the qualifications of voters. This may be, but we are not now dealing with States occupying their proper relation to the Federal power. A much nearer parallel is found in the case of the Territories. In that case were found citizens of the United States in a disorganized state, requiring the interposition of some appropriate authority to direct incipient organization. Congress, in the Ordinance of 1787, said, 'All free male inhabi-

tants of full age' shall vote. This precedent (which was adhered to by the Government in all territorial cases up to 1812) applies 'as nearly as any other to the reconstruction of Government over a Territory—certainly belonging to the United States—and which has been rescued from rebellion by the blood and treasure of the whole nation.

"But I do not rest the decision on precedents, none of which can be found exactly in point. It is a case requiring the exercise of those extraordinary powers of sovereignty which may always be called forth when self-preservation demands; and by self-preservation I mean the great purposes for which the sovereignty itself was created, viz. 'Union, Justice, Peace, Welfare, Defence, and Liberty.'"

GENERAL BANKS AT LAWRENCE, MASS.,
OCT. 2, 1865.

"And now we come to consider the question of negro suffrage. Giving a man the right of suffrage does not make him the equal of another man. Voting is not the test of equality. Power is in the hearts of men. He that is good and wise will have power, because it is the law of God that he shall have it. Whether he be white or whether he be black, is immaterial. He has power because it is the law of his being. The elements of power are not in the hands of men who cast the votes. The people of the United States are controlled by the elements of power that have no place at the ballot-box. The press, the pulpit, the public assembly, the father, the mother, these are the powers that control the country. The opinions of those who have no vote take effect on those who do vote. An election is simply the mode we have adopted of taking the general sense of the community.

"We feel safest when every man in a community votes. A small vote is not considered important, because the whole people are not fairly represented by it. Now I can trust the negroes, even admitting that they are not equal in intelligence to the whites, because they make a part of that general judgment which constitutes public sentiment.

"But that is not the question. I contend that it is not in the power of man to prevent the elective franchise from being given to the coloured men of the United States. You cannot enjoy the benefits of labour without satisfying the demands of the latter; and when four millions of people have a clear and unquestionable claim, it is at least their right to make an experiment. If the majority that is now dominant will not grant it, and gain strength for the right, the minority at the South will enforce it. The old rebels will increase their power in the Union by extending the franchise to the negroes, because they believe the negroes will go with them then. We should extend the franchise to them for similar reasons.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

"The *Manchester Examiner* publishes the following letter: 'Boston, Mass., U.S.A., Sept. 25, 1865. Dear Sir,—The *Manchester Examiner and Times* shews me how kindly you have watched over my good name, and seen justice

done me in the matter of alleged arguing for repudiation. Accept my thanks. I judge, you see, our American papers. If so, you will observe that our best guides, both journals and public functionaries, are now directing public attention to the very point, my arguing which, during the last year or two, has got me so much censure—I mean the point that national credit in pecuniary matters is one and the same question with justice to the negro. Let him vote, our public debts, state and national, will be paid. Shut him out from the franchise, and give back the unconverted Southern white race their old power, and there is great danger we shall repudiate. I mail with this the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, Sept. 23. Please notice Thaddeus Stephens's speech on this point. Of course you will see Sumner's speech, and will have observed Chief Justice Chase's observations. Our journals are just printing an excellent letter of your noble Stuart Mill, which covers the whole ground. I hope we shall be wise in time, but I do not expect that we shall. I fear that Johnson will deliver us, bound hand and foot, into the hands of the old tyrant white race of the South.

"Yours, with thanks for your
kind thoughtfulness,
"WENDELL PHILLIPS."

"T. H. Barker, Esq."

THE FREEDMEN'S COLUMN.

(From the *Boston Journal*).

CAN THEY TAKE CARE OF THEMSELVES?—This question, as applied to the freedmen, receives some light from statements recently made by Chaplain James, of our armies in North Carolina. He says there were in Beaufort about 3000 blacks, and nearly the same number of whites. Of the former between 300 and 400 were applicants for Government aid; of the latter from 1200 to 1400. The same statement might be made of Newbern and other places where a comparison could be instituted. In the last-mentioned place there was scarcely a trade or a profession in which the negroes were not represented. As to how they were getting along, we copy the following very interesting statements:

"In order to obtain some facts upon which I might estimate the amount of earnings to be credited to these free and freed people, I posted a handbill in Newbern, requesting such coloured people as were not employed by Government, but were pursuing some trade, profession, or calling on their own account, to report at my office the amount of their income or earnings during the year 1864. The result will interest the friends of the negro, and indicate their ability to support themselves.

"Three hundred and five persons, nearly all males, made returns in response to my request, reporting a gross amount of 151,562 dollars.

"The numbers reporting
From 500 dols. to 1000 dols. income was . 100
Upward of 1000 dols. income was . . 18
Upward of 2000 dols. income was . . 4
Upward of 3000 dols. income was . . 2

"The largest income reported was 3150 dollars. This was derived from the turpentine business, as indeed were most of the larger incomes reported, which varied from 300 dollars to more than 3000 dollars. The average of all the incomes reported is 406.92 dollars—a trifle short of 500 dollars."

(From the New-York Tribune, 9th September).

Those who clamour against the freedmen in the South as a degraded class, who are either starving in the calaboose, or breeding insurrections, should look at the condition of affairs in Louisiana. Here is a State that before the war had 326,726 slaves and 18,547 free people of colour. The free negroes of Louisiana embrace in their ranks some of the wealthiest and most respectable people of the State, and as a class have always been highly respected. They do not fall under the definition of freedmen as now accepted. Of the freedmen proper it is estimated that nearly 90,000 are old enough to vote. The records of the Freedmen's Bureau shew that out of the whole number there are not a thousand maintained at Government expense, these being most probably negroes who have been thrown out of home and labour by the abandonment of plantations, together with the old and infirm. In all the communities of freedmen a degree of order and industry reigns that is very pleasing to me. The only trouble the officers of the Bureau have is from the old Bourbon slaveholders, who never learn and never forget any thing. They cannot abandon the whip, the hound, the iron-collar, and the bludgeon. Notwithstanding this obstacle, all along the plantation sections schools are established, and the freedmen are taught. These schools have now 20,000 scholars—young minds who are, we hope, to lead and discipline the coloured race, and be the fathers and mothers of a new and enlightened generation.

(General Fullerton.)

General Fullerton, who was recently sent by General Howard on a tour of inspection through South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, has returned. He reports that many of the planters told him they could obtain more labour from the freedmen under the contract system than they ever did before; that the amount of labour performed by them depended very much on the employer, and that the right kind of men could get from them as much labour as any one could perform in that climate. Many of them professed still to consider Slavery as the best condition, but that in consequence of the effects of the war upon the negroes, they could do nothing with them as slaves, and it was best to acknowledge at once that they were free, and hire them to work. Some of the freedmen appeared to entertain the idea that the lands of their former masters now belong to them, as remuneration for their life-long unpaid labour. They are all desirous of the establishment of schools among them. When Government rations were issued to the destitute, in the region visited by General Fullerton, as many were distributed to whites as to blacks.

(From a Newbern Letter to the Editor of the Cincinnati Gazette.)

The following table of incomes of some of the freedmen of Newbern, during the third year of the war, is argument that cannot be made to appear to advantage by those who claim that slaves are rendered helpless and wretched by emancipation. Three hundred and five persons not employed by the Government, but working at trades of their own, returned a total income of 151,562 dollars, the average of all incomes being 496.92 dollars.

	dols.
George Hargate, turpentine farmer . . .	3,000
Ned Huggins, tar and turpentine . . .	3,150
E. H. Hill, missionary and trader . . .	2,000
W. A. Ives, carpenter and grocer . . .	2,400
George Gordon, turpentine . . .	1,500
Adam Hymen, turpentine . . .	1,300
Samuel Collins, dry goods and groceries . . .	1,200
Benj. Whitfield, grocery and eating-house . . .	1,500
Hasty Chadwick, turpentine . . .	1,000
Limber Lewis, staves, wood, and shingles . . .	1,500
George Physic, grocer . . .	1,500
Sylvester Mackay, undertaker . . .	1,000
Charles Bryan, cartman . . .	1,000
John H. Heath, shoemaker . . .	1,000
William Long, lumberman . . .	1,200
John Bryan, cotton farmer . . .	1,100
Hogan Conedy, cooper and tar maker . . .	1,000
Danzey Heath, grocer and baker . . .	1,500

The average of the incomes of barbers was 675 dollars; blacksmiths, 463 dollars; masons, 402 dollars; carpenters, 510 dollars; grocers, 678 dollars; coopers, 418 dollars; and of turpentine farmers, 446 dollars.

While the negroes at Newbern by patient toil were putting such facts as these on record, the whole refugee white population was drawing rations.

At Beaufort, of 1592 blacks in the place, only 300 received help; while at the same time 1200 whites were supplied with rations.

These whites invariably sit down forlorn, languid, and helpless; while the blacks, by their tinkering, manage in various ways to hammer out a living.

The colony at Roanoke Island in two years made improvements whose cost value at the lowest figures was 44,000 dollars, more than would have bought the whole island before the war, with all the improvements which the "master class" had put upon it in two hundred years. In two years, Sir Walter Raleigh's famous colony, established here, became utterly extinct.

These general facts concerning the condition of the freedmen when the war closed are taken from official papers, and show what the freedmen are capable of performing under most disadvantageous circumstances."

[The same correspondent says:]

"The negroes have generally preferred turpentine farming, the work being lighter and the returns earlier, as the product of the first dipping is ready for market before midsummer. From three thousand to ten thousand trees have thus been leased to single individuals. Many have become rich, hundreds have lived in ease, and, considering the difficulties in the way, a re-

markable proportion supported themselves. The same opportunities were open to the white refugees, and the result is seen in the report of the number of rations issued in Newbern, the largest camp for contrabands in the State, and the great city of refuge for the whole State. Of eight thousand negroes in camp only three thousand drew rations, while in the white camp every man, woman, and child was fed by the Government. Great as has been the cry concerning the idleness and worthlessness of the blacks, they have eaten far less of the bread of charity than the whites, and it might trouble some of the most aristocratic families in Richmond and Raleigh to shew so clear a record as those they affect to despise."

Review.

The Negro Suffrage, by PROFESSOR CAIRNES.

THIS is a ten page tract, written by the learned Professor whose admirable exposition of the causes of the slaveholders' rebellion rendered such excellent service in the early stages of the American struggle. The Professor, adhering to his anti-slavery principles, sets forth in the present pamphlet the reasons which, in his judgment, render it imperatively necessary to the safety and well-being of the freedmen, that they should have the right of suffrage, and that mere colour shall not constitute the basis of a special exception from the electoral qualification, it being borne in mind that, in the South, the most ignorant and lawless of the population are invested with political power. With much force he points out that the effect of the Constitutional Amendment, supposing it passed, will be to abolish Slavery and involuntary servitude except for crime, and he asks what there is to hinder any of the States, in the exercise of their prerogative, to determine what shall constitute "crime," and to condemn to involuntary servitude all found guilty of the particular offence so designated. Imagine it to be vagrancy, to wit, as the State Legislature of Western Tennessee has done. Its House of Representatives has adopted a Bill providing that "vagrancy in free persons of colour" be punished with imprisonment, and that on failure to pay the jail fees, "the culprit may be hired out to the highest bidder after due notice. Another section applies the poor laws affecting white people to the free people of colour,

but adds a *proviso* for the rendition to other counties and states of the poor and indigent people of colour; enacting in reality a fugitive slave-law, and in another name. The Professor illustrates what may be done in the Southern States, under such a condition of things, by what took place in Jamaica, the Legislature of which island so abused its powers, that only the constant interposition of the English Government prevented the enfranchised negro from being reduced to the condition of a serf.

The writer sums up his views in the brief phrase: "the policy of negro enfranchisement is dictated by political necessity as the only means of saving the revolution."

This view commands our hearty concurrence.

We regret that no publisher nor printer's name is attached to this treatise upon "The Negro Suffrage."

Advertisement.

THE FREEDMAN.

Price Twopence, Monthly.

This Magazine will be devoted to the interests of the Four Millions of the Freed People in the United States of America. It will contain articles contributed by distinguished native and foreign writers; also accurate and interesting Reports from all parts of the United States in which the freedmen are located; as well as brief Reports of meetings in this country; acknowledgments of contributions sent to the *Freedmen's-Aid Society*, and such other information as it may appear desirable to introduce.

The Magazine is demy octavo in size, and will form, when bound, a valuable volume.

The friends of freedom are earnestly solicited to aid to their utmost in securing for it a large circulation, not only by obtaining it themselves, but by inducing their friends to take it, and by subscribing for extra copies for gratuitous circulation.

The communications and suggestions of correspondents will receive the most careful attention.

Orders for the "Freedman" to be sent to S. W. PARTRIDGE Publisher, 9 Paternoster Row, E.C.

All matters of business, and Advertisements, to be addressed to ARLISS ANDREWS, 7 Duke Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

LONDON: Printed by WILLIAM MAJOR WATTS, No. 12, Crown Court, Pickett Place, Strand, in the Parish of St. Clement Danes, in the County of Middlesex; and published at the Office of the Society, No. 27, New Broad Street, in the Parish of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, in the City of London.—WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1865.

Registered for transmission abroad.]